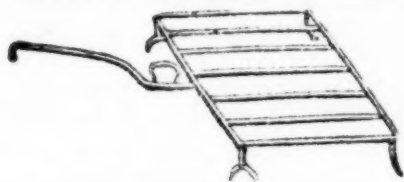


## COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO THE  
READERS OF THE REGISTER.*On the Lord Mayor's Day affair, and  
on the present state of things.*

Bolt-Court, November 9th, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

YOU, who have been readers of the Register for three or four-and-twenty years, must remember, that I never was one of those who applauded the Duke of Wellington, even as a military commander; that I particularly disapproved of many of his acts in that capacity, and especially of those *at Paris*, relative to MARSHAL NEY, and to the MUSEUMS; and that I condemned, in terms as severe as I thought prudent, the heaping upon him such immense sums of the public money, so far, in my opinion, beyond any possible merit of any human being; to all which I was, as I frequently stated, urged, too, by a conviction in my mind, that, at no distant day, the nation would discover, that all the "victories," as they were called, which he had gained, were events to be lamented instead of being subjects of joy.

You remember, my friends, the affair of the *Serpentine River*; you remember the roasting of the oxen and sheep in 1814; you remember the visit of the kings and of "*Old Blucher*;" you remember the *White Cockade* and that of the "*Orange Bovan*;" you remember the exultations at the news from Waterloo; you remember that, when every other throat of the press was stretched wide with clamorous joy, from my voice was heard no sounds but those of anticipated embarrassment to the government and calamity to the nation. For several years the DUKE made no conspicuous figure in public affairs; but, the

moment he did, I foretold his fate. Every calamity had arisen from the heavy burdens that the people had to bear. I was quite sure, that, *without a radical reform in parliament*, he had no power to lighten this burden to any considerable extent; and I had no idea that he would make such reform. Therefore, I distinctly bade him look forward to a total *loss of his fame*. I did, in fact, expect that he would experience much greater mortification than I ventured to describe; I expected, and confidently expected, to see him come down very low, and I said, in the month of June last, that if he *did not resort to the people*, he must quit his post, and that, in that case, he *never would be heard of more*; but, that which has *now befallen* him I really never anticipated; yet, now that it has happened, it appears to have been no more than the natural result of the progress of public opinion; so true it is, that, when the event *comes*, we see causes that we never saw before.

The fate of the Duke has in it every circumstance to make it mortifying to him. Not only have the *loud huzzas* that used to burst forth at his appearance been turned into hisses, groans and execrations; but, the grand occasion, which has decided his fate has this singularity in it, that, whereas the late King was said to take the Duke *close by his side to the Guildhall*, in order that *the former might share in the marks of popularity bestowed on the latter*, the present King has been actually prevented from going to *that same Guildhall* lest his going thither, accompanied by the Duke, should, *in consequence of popular violence committed on the Duke*, lead to tumult, and even to *bloodshed*! And, as if these facts were not sufficient to mark the depth of the fall, comes this further circumstance, that, such has been the character of the whole proceeding, that a vast proportion of the public impute motives of *personal fear*, to him who has, for twenty years, been denominated "*a hero*," and who has,

for sixteen years been, in both Houses of Parliament, called "the greatest *Captain of the age, the conqueror of Buonaparte, and the twice conqueror of France.*" And now for the history of the last, the signal, proof of this surprising fall.

Though it is well known to most of my English readers, it may be known but very imperfectly, if at all, to many readers in other countries into which the Register finds its way, that the chief magistrate of London, who is called the LORD MAYOR, and who fills his office for a year and then retires, enters on his office on *the ninth of November*; that this, which is called the LORD MAYOR'S DAY, is a day which, for many ages, has been a day of festivity and display of grandeur in London, the Lord Mayor regaling the members of the Corporation, the twelve Judges, the Ministers of State, the foreign Ambassadors, and other distinguished persons, at a dinner, which is served in the most magnificent style, in an immense hall, called the GUILDHALL; that, this year, the Corporation solicited of the *King and Queen* that they would be graciously pleased to *honour the feast with their presence*, a solicitation to which their Majesties readily yielded; that accordingly preparations of the grandest and most sumptuous description were made for their reception and entertainment; that the public expectation had, by a full detail of these splendid preparations, been greatly excited for about three weeks; that the Guildhall of the City is situated at about two miles from Saint James's Palace, from which the King and Queen were to go in grand state, accompanied by the Ministers, Judges, Ambassadors, and all that was calculated to attract the curiosity of the idle and the admiration of the foolish and thoughtless; that, to accommodate persons of this description, who could afford the expense, benches had been prepared for sitting at the windows of all the houses on both sides of the streets, from the palace to the Guildhall, and erections for the same purpose had been made round the greater part of St. Paul's Church-Yard, while

the lamps, devices, transparencies and other preparations for illuminations, were quite enormous, exceeding, in expense, perhaps, ten thousand pounds.

This was the state of the affair on *Sunday, the 7th*, and so little did the city authorities think, on that day, of any change in the arrangements, that even on Sunday the workmen were employed in constructing gas-works for a grand illumination over the ancient city gateway, called Temple Bar. What, then, was the surprise, what the disappointment, what the consternation, of this immense mass of people, when they saw the announcement contained in the letter of the *Secretary of State to the Lord Mayor*, which letter will be found under the head of "DOMESTIC AFFAIRS"! It is true, however, that from the first talk of the intended feast, a pretty general *murmur* was heard against it. Men asked whence the *cost* was to come, and they pretty quickly traced it to the pockets of the industrious part of the community; and besides this, it was thought not only indecent, but cruel and inhuman, that such a waste of food and such extravagant expenditure should take place, while so many millions of the people were notoriously pinched with hunger, and while some of the finest parts, not only of England, but of this whole world, were actually convulsed and bordering on a state of open rebellion on account of that hunger. Supposing the cost to be 20,000*l.*, which, probably, would have been far short of the mark, here was a sum equal to the *wages* (when employed) of *all the agricultural labourers in the county of Kent for nearly a fortnight*. There are 30,000 of such labourers' families in Kent; supposing 2,000 of these to be farmers, here is about 15*s.* to each of these families! The means thus wasted would have been equal to the wages of *ALL agricultural labourers in Bedfordshire for nearly a month!*

Such thoughts would naturally come into men's minds, and they would naturally produce a good deal of disapprobation of the feast. But, in the meanwhile, the Parliament met; on the 2d of November the King made to it the

Speech inserted in the last Register, which greatly disappointed the people in general, who expected him to recommend something for their relief, but who saw in the Speech nothing of that sort, but something of a menace. To this omission was added the speech of the Duke of Wellington, *declaring against Parliamentary reform*, and in such terms as to give offence to at least ninety-nine hundredths of the people! From this moment the general observation was, "The Duke will get it on Tuesday!" And though no serious thing was expected by sensible men, every one thought that the Duke would experience every mark of opprobrium that the people could bestow upon him. Besides these natural anticipations, he had already been hissed, hooted, and *even pelted*, by the people in Westminster.

But now let us hear his own story, in his own words, as reported in the *Morning Chronicle* of Tuesday, the 9th. He began by reading the letter of the LORD MAYOR ELECT, which will be seen as above-mentioned, and which *apprised him of danger to his person*. "Hence," said he, "although I felt myself personally to be placed under the same protection of the laws as any other subject in the kingdom, I did not think I was justified in making confusion and tumult in the procession which was to attend his Majesty, by adopting the advice of the writer of this letter, and seeking protection from the civil and military power in such a way as would be likely to produce that very disturbance which all men were so anxious to avoid. Under these circumstances, when I received the letter I have referred to, I felt it my duty to refrain from attending at the City feast. My Lords, I communicated this determination to my colleagues, and we found on that occasion, from the letter, from other letters which I had received, and from letters received by my Right Hon. Friend, the Secretary of State, on the same subject, that it was very possible that a tumult would occur in the City on the occasion of his Majesty's visit; and we thought it our duty to recom-

mend his Majesty to postpone his visit. And we were induced to come to this determination in consequence of all the information we received of various descriptions. We have no doubt whatever, from the information conveyed to us from a variety of quarters, information on which we could rely, that an attack would be made on the Police, that there was a plan laid to extinguish the lights, and a variety of attempts to be made to excite riot and disorder. My Lords, we had no doubt that we should know how to suppress those tumults; but I must say that I considered it far preferable not to hazard the risk of riot and confusion occurring in the presence of the Sovereign, and we therefore recommended the Sovereign not to put himself in a situation to be the witness of such tumults. My Lords, it was solely on this view that we recommended to His Majesty to postpone his visit, as I conceive it impossible that such confusion and tumult should exist without ending in bloodshed. The people, my Lords, would be collected together to witness a pageant, the pageant of His Majesty going in state to visit the Corporation of the City of London; and confer on the Lord Mayor the honour of dining with him. His Majesty and his Ministers, and the great officers of State, and the foreign Ambassadors, could not go to the City of London without causing a great collection of people, and making it very probable that riot and confusion would take place. I say, my Lords, that there was a great chance and a very great chance, that there would be serious consequences to his Majesty's subjects, and therefore we recommended his Majesty not to go. The noble Duke (Richmond) has asked if the news of disorder and tumult was confined to the City of London, and if there were apprehensions of riot in other places? There were not. It was sufficient to me there were such apprehensions in the City. With some parts of the country other noble Lords must be



"better acquainted than I am. The noble Duke himself must know more than I do, as to the disposition of the people in Sussex. In Surrey and *one or two other counties*, as is known to your Lordships, there have been *some disorders*; there has been some *stoppage of work in Lancashire*, but I know nothing beyond these to disturb the national tranquillity at this moment. At the same time I cannot doubt the truth of the information communicated by the Lord Mayor Elect, namely, that there would have been confusion and tumult in the city had the pageant taken place. After having said so much, I shall only add that I have no objection whatever to produce the document asked for; and I can assure your Lordships that there is *no inclination in the Government of the country*, or in *any other Government* that I am acquainted with, to do any-thing which is likely to disturb the peace of *Europe*."

This is quite wonderful! Is this, can this be, "*the greatest Captain of the age*"! Are these the words of the man, who called county-meetings "*a farce*"! But, does the Duke tell the whole of the story? Oh, no! for Mr. KEY, the Lord Mayor elect, has let it out, that he had a communication with Peel BEFORE he wrote this letter to the Duke! Who is to believe, then, that Peel did not *advise him to write this letter*? Look (under the head of Domestic Affairs) at the report of proceedings in the Common Council, and you will perceive that Mr. KEY says, in excuse for his writing the letter, that he had PREVIOUSLY been with Peel, and that, in the course of the conversation, Peel said, "*What shall we do with the Duke of Wellington*"! Good God! Just such, I dare say, were the questions put to each other by the affrighted mariners before they resolved to throw poor JONAN overboard! "*What shall we do with the Duke of Wellington*"! Just as if the Duke had got the small-pox or the plague; or, just as if he had been a barrel of gun-powder, while the lightning was dart-

ing about from the clouds! There only wanted a little change in the appellation to make the thing complete. "*What shall we do with the hero of Waterloo, the twice conqueror of France, the greatest captain of the age*?" There only wanted these appellations, coming from the lips of the son of the cotton-weaver, to make the thing complete. "*What shall we do with the man on whom the kings of England have bestowed every honour that they have had the power to bestow, the man with more than forty titles and decorations, the man who is a Duke, a Grandee and a Prince; what shall we do with him*?" If the question had thus been lengthened, it could, however, not have added force to the idea; for these circumstances have all occurred to the whole of the public.

But, how came this question to be put by Peel to Mr. KEY? Will any one believe, that Mr. KEY had not been representing to Peel, that, if the Duke were out of the way, all would be safe enough? To be sure; and then the question of Peel was natural enough. "*What shall we do with the Duke*?" That is, how shall we get him out of the way, so that we may get quietly along? Now, will any man pretend to believe, that Mr. KEY's letter was not the result of this interview with Peel? Will any man pretend to believe, that Peel did not know that the letter was about to be written? And, if he did know it, will any one believe, that he kept the Lord Mayor's intention a secret from the Duke? And, will any man pretend to believe, that this was not the true reason why Mr. KEY wrote the letter without consulting the court of Aldermen? If he had consulted them before he wrote the letter, there would have been some, at least, to protest against it, and that would have been enough to mar the project; for, nothing short of a document-like letter could have been sufficient to form even a pretext for the measure that was adopted. The plain truth, then, appears to be this: that the Duke found that his unpopularity was so great, that he could not go in the procession without the danger of producing



riot and confusion; that he had, therefore, to choose, between causing this danger to the peace of the metropolis and disgrace to himself, and the disgrace of *keeping out of the way*, while the King and the rest met with no insult at all. He chose neither; but chose to *prevent the procession altogether!* The King, particularly *with the Queen*, might have passed *quietly* along, *he being absent*; but, certainly not, *he being present*. Whether his presence were *absolutely necessary*; whether to avoid the disgrace, very deep I allow, of keeping away upon such an occasion, it was right, in a prime minister to render it *necessary* for the Corporation to *issue a declaration, that the King was popular and would have been well received*; these are questions, my friends, which I leave you and the world to answer, having myself no desire to press upon a man, who, though from his own acts and language, has experienced a fall greater than any man that I ever heard of, Cardinal Wolsey not excepted. Wolsey and others have fallen by the caprice of tyrants, or by public convulsions; but here is a whole people, gradually changing their admiration and gratitude into contempt and resentment. He said lately, at a dinner at Manchester, that he did not desire to retain his office any longer than he had the support and approbation of men like those by whom he was then surrounded. He has them not now; no, nor one particle of them; and, therefore, according to his own professions, he now ought to *resign*.

But (and this brings me to my second topic) *who is to fill his place*; and of what use would the change be? It is a very ugly feature in the state of the aristocracy, that, while every one cries, "*Down with Wellington*," not a single voice cries "*up*" with *any body else!* The poor Duke, verifying the old remark, that misfortunes never come by ones, has, to comfort him in his loss of the London feast, the delectable news that the Belgians are about to pull down *the mound and the lion*, raised, on "*the Field of Waterloo*," to perpetuate his renown. I said, in August, that they would not stand *a year from that*

*time*. Others, who might fill his place, have not these mortifications to endure; they may, without *immediate* difficulty and inconsistency, allow Belgium to become a *Republic*, or to become a *part of France*; but they cannot avoid the *consequences* of such events; and those consequences *must* be great to England. Lord Londonderry was quite right when he said that the revolution in France was *only commencing*. That fact, which is pleasing to us, the people, is a fearful fact for the *aristocracy*; for who is to believe that the present system, or any-thing like the present system, can stand, when there shall be *no hereditary right*, and *no paid clergy*, existing in France; and when the communication between Hertfordshire and the Department of the Seine shall be as close as that between England and Scotland? It is against these things, and particularly against the inevitable effects of *the establishment of a republic in France*, that the English Government will have to provide. There can, I think, be hardly a man so foolish as to hope that the present poor thing of a government can continue in France for any length of time. The recent *change in the ministry* is no change of *things*, but merely of *names*. It is the *nature of the government* that demands a change. It is a *cheap* government that is wanted; and that the people cannot have with their present form. What is the use of M. LAFITTE calling himself a *republican*: it is not the *name*, but the *thing*, that the people want; and that thing they will have. So that our Duke's resigning would be of no use, as regards France. The Whigs could do nothing to prevent a republic in France; and yet, if they could *not*, how would they be able to uphold the present state of things in England!

But how, without a *very great change*, are they to *uphold the present state of things* in England, independent of all effects from *foreign* causes? I am not supposing danger to the Government and aristocracy from "*mobs*," nor even from sudden attacks, like that of Paris; but from the *general discontent*, growing daily greater and greater, and arising

solely from the *weight of the taxes*. How is this discontent to be allayed? By nothing under heaven but a *relief from the burdens that produce it*. And how is that burden to be taken off without blowing up the Debt? And how is the Debt to be blowed up, and the aristocracy stand? Before, therefore, Lord Winchilsea calls for *Lord Grey*, let him tell Lord Grey how *he* is to do that which the Duke cannot do.

If it be not absolute madness, it is infatuation little short of it, to believe, or it is matchless insincerity to affect to believe, that the violences in Kent are not only *not the work of the labourers of Kent*, but that the labourers are *singularly well affected* towards the owners and occupiers of the land! PEEL and KNATCHBULL assert this boldly, and yet their hearers *do not laugh*! There are others who are basely impudent enough to assert, that the labouring people *are as well off as they ever were*; and that, too, in defiance of hundreds of facts stated to committees of the House of Commons itself! However, the *state of the country* and the *fate of the aristocracy*, are topics which I must reserve for my next, when I mean to publish what I shall, call "**LAST WORDS TO LORDS**;" for, after that, never will I address them, or any of them, again. I will, next week, *tell their fortune* for them; and will then leave them to strut and hector about as long as they like, or, rather, as long as they *can*.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Since the above was written, it was published that LORD KEY AND HIS LADY WERE TO DINE WITH THE KING AND QUEEN AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE! That would have been *enough* for any man who can put two ideas together. But even now there can be no doubt as to the *real origin* of Lord Key's letter.

### TO THE OLD LADY.

Bolt-Court, November 11th, 1830.

MY DEAR MAMMA,

Who, amongst all your sons, has been so constant in affection and attention to you as I have! But, if you were the

subject of my lofty eulogiums in 1816, when I said, that, *with you at our back*, we cared for nothing; if this was my language *then*, whence are to come the words to express my love and admiration of you NOW, when you are not only embarrassing, puzzling, bothering, teasing, tormenting, tying the hands and restraining the jaws, of our own corrupt and rapacious and insolent and bloody-minded boroughmongers; but are, at the same time, throwing your *ample under-garment* over the *infant Republics of Belgium and of France*! Kind, generous old matron! I was always for *petticoat-government*; and who will rebel against it *now*! Great, indeed, is your danger at present; one of Dr. BARING'S "*cold fits*" is, it seems, upon you, and also (from sympathy) upon your daughter at Paris; but, there is in you, my dear mother, this rare excellence, that, whether *in living* or *in dying*, you serve us; as long as you have breath in your body, you keep in check, you benumb the limbs of, *the most hellish foes of justice and freedom*; and, whenever you die, those *hellish foes die too*! Wonderful woman! You render them powerless as long as you live; and, whenever you turn up your toes, they are found dead at your heels! They would cause you to be murdered; aye, that they would, and, like Charles X. and Polignac, would play at cards, or be out sporting, while the murder was committing; but your life, bad as it is for them, is still not so bad as would be your death. The republicans of France and of Belgium, aye, and even the Americans, are the most ungrateful wretches that ever lived, if they do not, in expressions and in feelings of admiration and gratitude, cordially join your ever affectionate son,

WM. COBBETT.

### LETTER II.

TO

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, KING OF THE FRENCH.

London, 8th November, 1830.

SIR,

In my former letter I endeavoured to convince you, that it was the system of

public debts and funds, that had been one great cause of the ruin of England, and that would now be the ruin of your government, if you did not *speedily resolve to abandon this fatal system*. I endeavoured to convince you, that taxes, raised to pay the interest of a *public debt*, operated most mischievously; that they created bands of idlers to live in luxury on the fruit of the labour of the industrious; that they caused *monopolies* by drawing the property of the country into few hands; that they caused seasons of *false prosperity* and of *real distress*; that they produced want of employment and all its attendant miseries, and, in the end, a violent overthrow of the government. I observed to you, that it was the *desire to uphold this system in France* that was the *real cause of all your present difficulties*; that to this cause was to be ascribed the strange adherence to laws of Charles X. for enchaining the press; that to this motive, and this motive alone, was to be ascribed your abandonment of the brave Belgians; and to this cause was to be ascribed the non-dissolution of the Chambers, the upholding of an hereditary peerage, and also that strange, that indescribable, act, *the attempt to save the lives of Polignac and his colleagues in tyranny and blood*, and that, too, by an *ex post facto law*, founded on pretexts so manifestly insincere as not to admit of adequate reprobation. I endeavoured to convince you, that a nation, however great in valour and resources, can never assert its rights, maintain its honour, or even provide for its independence, if loaded with a public debt; for that *war* destroys the fund-holders, and that, in time the government becomes so firmly linked to them, that it cannot go to war without being destroyed too. I showed you, that this was the *state of England now*; and that, therefore, it might be, and was prudent in *our government not to go to war* to fulfil the treaties relative to Belgium, because, by going to war it would, perhaps, *have overthrown itself*; but that this was not *your case*; for that the government of France was *already overthrown*; and, that, therefore, it appeared very strange

to us, that France should see the Belgians slaughtered by the cowardly and bloody Dutch, without marching to their protection.

After these observations, I expressed my wonder, that the *new government* of France should have kept *in full force* all the laws of the old government, especially that odious law, which compels *a man to deposit 150,000 francs in the funds before he be allowed to print a newspaper*; a law which, in fact, says to him; "You shall become a fundholder; *your fortune shall depend on the maintenance of the funds, as long as you be allowed to convey your thoughts to the people.*" I expressed my wonder also, that the money awarded to the widows and orphans of July, and even the *subscriptions* for their relief, should have been deposited in the *public funds*, thereby *making them fundholders too*. I expressed my wonder at this great, this extraordinary, this apparently unnatural desire, on the part of the *new government* to uphold the public funds, and to compel the people of France still to toil and sweat to pay the interest of a debt, which the *old government* had contracted, and contracted, too, to pay the allies, the emigrants and others, for enslaving France. I expressed my wonder that YOU, at any rate, should have seemed to wish to uphold this fatal and oppressive system of debts and funds, asking: "Why should YOU wish to support it? YOU can have *no interest* in its existence; and why should YOU bear the odium of being *its supporter?*" Alas! Sir, these words had not been in print three hours, when I learned a fact which explained all the mystery; namely, that YOU had, before the Revolution of July, and HAVE NOW, about *eighty thousand pounds sterling*, or *TWO MILLIONS OF FRANCS*, in the *PUBLIC FUNDS OF ENGLAND*!

Like a man, who, when shut up in a room, with doors and window-shutters closed, catching here and there a gleam of light through the key-holes, joints and cracks, and groping about in search of something hidden, finds a friendly hand to come and *pull back the window-*



*shutters*; like such a man was I, Sir, when informed of this fact! Away went all my *wonder* at what I had beheld! The crown being offered to you by a *banker*; a *banker* being chosen *president of the Chamber of Deputies*; the law of the new government *acknowledging the public debt*; the putting of Baron Louis and M. Guizot in the ministry; the sending of Talleyrand to England; the abandonment of the Belgians; the non-dissolution of the Chambers; the not extending of the right of voting to all men; the maintenance of the laws of Charles X., and especially that law which *compelled the journalists to be fundholders*; the putting of the money granted to the widows and orphans, and even the subscriptions for them, in the *public funds*; the great, the apparently unnatural, desire to *conciliate the friendship of England*; the obstacles that were thrown in the way *to prevent a deputation, of the National Guard from coming to shake hands with their brothers, the working people of England*: all these, and every other thing, that had appeared *so strange* to me, were *now* explained; were now clear to my view, and appeared to be just as *natural* as they had appeared *unnatural* before! It was easy to see, that the endeavour to save the lives of the murdering Polignac and his colleagues was in compliance with the anxious wishes of the English government; but, it was not so easy to see *the reason* for your being *so ready to comply with these wishes*, even at so great a risk to yourself. Now, however, the reason is plain; the mystery is removed, and we see all as clear as day-light. It was manifest, that the English government saw its *own safety* involved in the *proceedings in France and Belgium*; that it saw, that if the French made a *real republican change*, and that this extended to Belgium, it *must itself be compelled to make a great change in England*. This was a very good reason for the English government to wish to see the French revolution *stopped in its progress*; but, it was no reason for YOU to wish it. But, when we find that you had, and have, *two million* francs depending upon the conti-

nance of the present system in England, we see that you had and have a *reason*, and a powerful reason, for wishing to support this system in England; that you have, in short, a *powerful motive* for wishing that rotten boroughs and that *all the taxes* may continue in England; and, that you, therefore, have a powerful motive for preventing France from giving us *an example of the contrary*.

HE who could not err has told us, that "Where the *treasure* is, there will the *heart* be also;" and, therefore, he bids his disciples to lay up treasures in HEAVEN. Not being able to act *literally* upon this precept, you have laid up your treasure *in England*, regarding it, doubtless (having such a fine government) as the terrestrial heaven. But, how will the *French people*, the "sovereign people," look upon this matter? Will not they ask how their "citizen-king" came to regard the English funds *safer than those of France*? Will they not see in this fact a pretty good reason for the English *Aristocracy* *praising you*, while they call the brave people of Paris "*a blood-thirsty mob*"? That you might prefer the English to the French funds, *while Charles X. reigned*, would be only equivocal; but, that you should confide your treasure to the hands of the English government, rather than to the government of *which you yourself are the chief*, is a fact that speaks with so loud and clear a voice that no man can misunderstand it; and the question, that every sensible Frenchman will put to himself is this: whether it be possible, that he, who has placed his treasure under the protection of the English Government, can be a proper person to be the Chief Magistrate of France. And every sensible Frenchman will exclaim, what a strange state of things; our chief is *praised* by the English aristocracy, and we *abused* by them; we have driven away the family with the *white flag* and have raised up the family with the *tri-coloured flag*, and yet *both of them* have their treasure (treasure derived from France) in the keeping of that Government which openly declares its hatred of our revolution!

Sir, I can have no motive for personal dislike to you ; I can know nothing of your character but as this is depicted in your acts ; I have no desire to excite disrespect towards you ; but, I feel uncommonly anxious that the people of France should, at last, enjoy that *real liberty* which is no more than the just reward of their innumerable sacrifices and of their wondrous valour ; and this I am convinced that they never will enjoy till they shake from them the accursed trammels drawn round them by loan-jobbers, fundholders, discounters, and Jews. The maxim of Voltaire, that,

“ Bon ou mauvais, le Français veut un maître,”

does not apply to the French of the present day. They will, I am convinced, never have a *master again*. They have now had ample experience ; they have tasted the bitter fruit of that *costly* government which is inseparable from *hereditary right* ; the events of every day tend to confirm them in their dislike of it ; and, until France be a *real republic*, whether her chief magistrate be a *king* or not, she will never know tranquillity, and her government will never be cheerfully obeyed. You may, as I said before, change your *ministry*, and change and change again ; but, as long as your ministry shall endeavour to burden thirty-two millions of people *for the purpose of enriching those who, by means of public funds, live in luxury on the fruit of the labour of the people*, beautiful France will never know peace, and you will never know happiness.

I am, Sir, your most obedient  
and most humble Servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

#### TRANSLATION.

##### LETTRE II.

À

#### LOUIS-PHILIPPE, ROI DES FRANÇAIS.

'Londres, 8th Novembre, 1830.

SIRE,

DANS ma première lettre j'ai tâché de vous convaincre que c'était le système de dettes et de *fonds publics*, qui avait

été une des grandes causes de la ruine de l'Angleterre, et qu'il serait maintenant la ruine de votre gouvernement, si vous ne vous *décidiez pas promptement à abandonner ce fatal système*. Je me suis efforcé de vous convaincre que les taxes, levées pour payer l'intérêt d'une *dette publique*, produisaient les effets les plus désastreux ; qu'elles donnaient naissance à cette foule de fainéants qui vivent dans le luxe du fruit du travail de la classe industrielle ; qu'elles engendraient le *monopole* en concentrant la propriété dans les mains d'un petit nombre d'individus ; qu'elles créaient des saisons de *fausse prospérité* et de *détresse réelle* ; qu'elles produisaient le manque d'emploi et toutes les misères qui en sont inséparables, et, à la fin, le renversement violent du gouvernement. Je vous ai fait observer que c'était le *désir de maintenir ce système en France*, qui était la cause réelle de tous les embarras dans lesquels vous vous trouvez ; que c'était à cette cause qu'on devait attribuer l'étrange adhérence aux lois de Charles X. pour enchaîner la presse ; que c'était ce motif, et ce motif seul, qui vous avait fait abandonner les braves Belges ; et que telle était la cause de la non-dissolution des chambres, du maintien d'une pairie héréditaire, et aussi de cet acte étrange, incroyable, par lequel il s'agissait de sauver la vie de Polignac et de ses collègues, tyrans sanguinaires comme lui, et de les sauver, qui plus est, par une loi faite exprès et fondée sur des prétextes si mensongers qu'on ne saurait jamais assez exprimer son indignation à cet égard. Je n'ai rien négligé pour vous convaincre qu'une nation quelque grande qu'elle soit par sa valeur et par ses ressources, ne peut jamais défendre ses droits, conserver son honneur, ni même garantir son indépendance, si elle est chargée d'une dette publique ; parce que la guerre ruine les possesseurs de fonds, et que le gouvernement s'unissant étroitement avec eux ne peut faire la guerre sans être aussi anéanti. Je vous ai montré que telle était la situation présente de l'Angleterre ; et que, par conséquent, la prudence exigeait que notre gouvernement ne fît pas la guerre pour l'exécution des

traités relatifs à la Belgique, parce qu'en allant à la guerre il s'exposerait à se renverser lui-même; mais que ce n'était pas là *votre cas*; par cela même que le gouvernement de France était déjà renversé; et qu'en conséquence il nous a paru fort étrange que la France ait laissé égorger les Belges par les lâches et féroces Hollandais sans courir à leur secours.

Après avoir fait ces observations, j'ai exprimé mon étonnement de ce que le nouveau gouvernement de France conservait dans toute leur vigueur, toutes les lois du vieux gouvernement, surtout cette loi odieuse, qui force un individu à déposer 150,000 francs dans les fonds avant qu'il lui soit permis de faire imprimer un journal; loi qui, en effet, lui dit; "vous deviendrez possesseur de fonds; votre fortune dépendra du maintien des fonds aussi long-tems qu'il vous sera permis de communiquer vos pensées au peuple." J'ai témoigné aussi mon étonnement de ce que l'argent accordé aux veuves et aux orphelins de Juillet, et même les souscriptions destinées à leur soulagement avaient été déposés dans les fonds publics, et de ce que par ce moyen-là on avait fait aussi de ces personnes des possesseurs de fonds. J'ai dit combien me paraissait extraordinaire et invraisemblable cet ardent désir du nouveau gouvernement de maintenir les fonds publics, et de forcer le peuple de France à continuer à travailler péniblement pour payer l'intérêt d'une dette que l'ancien gouvernement avait contractée, et contractée, qui plus est, pour payer les alliés, les émigrés et d'autres dans le but de rendre la France esclave. J'ai laissé voir toute ma surprise que vous, dans tous les cas vous ayez paru vouloir maintenir ce système fatal et oppresseur de dettes et de fonds, demandant: "Pourquoi désireriez-vous le protéger? Vous ne pouvez avoir aucun intérêt à ce qu'il soit maintenu; et pourquoi vous chargeriez vous du rôle odieux d'en être le soutien?" Hélas! Sire, il n'y avait pas trois heures que j'avais fait imprimer ces mots, lorsque j'appris un fait qui m'a dévoilé tout le mystère; et ce fait est que vous AVIEZ, avant la révolution de

Juillet, que VOUS AVEZ PRÉSENTEMENT, environ quatre-vingt mille livres sterling, ou DEUX MILLIONS DE FRANCS, dans les FONDS PUBLICS D'ANGLETERRE!

Figurez-vous un homme dans une chambre dont la porte et les contrevents sont fermés, qui, à la faveur de quelques luciers qui pénétrèrent jusqu'à lui, par le trou de la serrure ou au travers des crevasses, va en tâtonnant à la recherche de quelque chose de caché, lorsqu'une main amie lui ouvre les contrevents; j'étais dans la situation de cet homme, Sire, quand j'ai été informé de ce fait! L'étonnement que me causait tout ce que j'avais vu s'est évanoui! la couronne qui vous a été offerte par un banquier; un banquier qui a été élu président de la chambre des députés; la loi du nouveau gouvernement, qui a reconnu la dette publique; le baron Louis et M. Guizot nommés ministres; l'envoi de Talleyrand en Angleterre; des secours refusés aux Belges; la non-dissolution des chambres; le droit électoral n'ayant point été accordé à tous les citoyens; le maintien des lois de Charles X., et surtout de cette loi qui forçait les journalistes à devenir possesseurs de fonds; l'argent accordé aux veuves et aux orphelins, et même les souscriptions en leur faveur mises dans les fonds publics; le désir ardent et inexplicable de gagner l'amitié de l'Angleterre; les obstacles qu'on a fait naître pour empêcher une députation de la Garde Nationale de venir fraterniser avec les ouvriers de Londres: toutes ces choses ainsi que d'autres qui m'avaient paru étranges se trouvèrent alors expliquées, et me semblèrent aussi simples que je les avais d'abord crues invraisemblables! Il était facile de voir que c'était pour complaire au gouvernement anglais qu'on s'efforçait de sauver l'assassin Polignac et ses collègues; mais il n'était pas si facile de voir la raison pour laquelle vous vous montriez si empressé de lui complaire même en vous exposant à un grand danger personnel. Maintenant, cependant, la raison en est évidente; le mystère est dévoilé, et tout nous paraît aussi clair qu'en plein midi. Il est évident que le



gouvernement anglais voyait son salut dépendre de la marche des affaires en France et en Belgique; qu'il voyait que si la France adoptait la forme républicaine et que si la Belgique suivait cet exemple, l'Angleterre serait forcée à quelque grand changement. C'était une excellente raison pour que le gouvernement anglais désirât de voir la révolution Française arrêtée dans ses progrès; mais ce n'était pas une raison pour que vous le désirassiez. Mais quand nous pensons que vous aviez et que vous avez deux millions de francs dont le sort dépend du maintien du présent système en Angleterre, nous voyons que vous aviez et que vous avez une raison, et une puissante raison, pour désirer soutenir ce système en Angleterre; que vous avez, en un mot, un puissant motif pour désirer que les bourgs pourris et que toutes les taxes continuent en Angleterre; et que, par conséquent, vous avez un puissant motif pour empêcher la France de nous donner l'exemple du contraire.

Celui qui ne pouvait pas se tromper nous a dit que "là où est le trésor, là aussi se trouve le cœur;" et par conséquent il ordonne à ses disciples d'accumuler des trésors dans le Ciel. Ne pouvant agir littéralement d'après ce précepte vous avez amassé votre trésor en Angleterre, la regardant sans doute (en égard à son beau gouvernement) comme le paradis terrestre. Mais de quel œil le peuple français, le "peuple souverain," verra-t-il tout cela? Ne se demanderont-ils pas comment il se fait que leur "citoyen-roi" regarde les fonds anglais comme plus en sûreté que ceux de France? Ce fait-là ne leur apprendra-t-il pas la raison pour laquelle l'aristocratie anglaise vous loue, tandis qu'elle appelle le brave peuple de Paris, "canaille altérée de sang"? Que vous ayez préféré les fonds anglais aux français tandis que Charles X. régnait, il n'y aurait là que de l'équivoque, mais que vous confiez votre trésor au gouvernement anglais plutôt qu'au gouvernement dont vous êtes vous-même le chef, c'est un fait qui parle si hautement, si clairement, qu'il est impossible de ne pas le comprendre; et voici ce que tout Français sensé se

demandera: Est-il possible que celui qui a placé son trésor sous la protection du gouvernement anglais, puisse convenir pour être le Magistrat Suprême de la France? Et tout Français sensé s'écriera: Comme c'est étrange; notre chef est loué par l'aristocratie anglaise, et elle nous dit des injures à nous; nous avons chassé la famille au drapeau blanc, et nous avons mis sur le trône la famille au drapeau tricolore, et cependant toutes les deux ont leur trésor (trésor tiré de la France) sous la sauvegarde de ce même gouvernement qui déclare hautement sa haine pour notre révolution!

Sire, je n'ai aucun motif de prévention contre vous; je ne puis connaître de votre caractère que ce que vos actes m'en ont appris; je n'ai pas le moindre désir qu'on vous manque de respect, mais je suis dans la plus vive inquiétude que le peuple de France ne jouisse pas, à la fin, de cette liberté réelle, qui n'est que la juste récompense de ses sacrifices innombrables et de sa valeur sans égale; et je suis convaincu, qu'il n'en jouira que, lorsqu'il aura secoué les chaînes avec lesquelles le garotent les brocanteurs d'emprunt, les possesseurs de fonds, les escompteurs, et les Juifs. La maxime de Voltaire, que,

"Bon ou mauvais, le Français veut un maître,"

ne saurait s'appliquer aux Français de nos jours. Je suis convaincu qu'ils ne se laisseront plus imposer de maître. Ils ont à présent l'expérience pour eux; ils ont goûté le fruit amer de ce gouvernement coûteux qui est inséparable du droit héréditaire; tout tend à les confirmer dans la haine qu'il leur inspire; et la France n'aura de tranquillité, et n'obéira avec plaisir à son gouvernement, que lorsqu'elle sera constituée en république réelle, que son premier magistrat soit roi ou non. Vous pouvez, comme je l'ai déjà dit, changer votre ministère, le changer et le changer encore; mais aussi long-tems que votre ministère s'efforcera d'accabler trente-deux millions d'individus, dans le dessein d'enrichir ceux qui, par le moyen des fonds publics, vivent dans le luxe, du fruit du travail du peuple, la belle

France ne connaîtra ni la paix, et ni vous ne connaîtrez le bonheur.

Je suis, Sire,  
Votre très obéissant et humble serviteur,  
GME. COBBETT.

### FIRES.

READER, look at "*Domestic Affairs*," particularly the transactions at *Hastings*, and remember how long I have been *praying the Parliament* to repeal *Sturges Bourne's Bills*, which enabled the parishes to *hire strangers* to be "*assistant overseers*." Look also at the declarations of the men sent to prison at "*Canterbury*," that they "*cared nothing about it, for that they could not be worse off*." Pray, my readers, attend to these things; and then (if you be Catholics) *cross yourselves* when you hear Peel and Knatchbull say, that the fires *do not proceed from the "peasantry,"* a new name given to the country labourers by the insolent boroughmongering and loan-mongering tribes. But, if it be not the "*peasantry*," *who is it?* Nonsense! Go, go; GET GOLD; and *make haste about it!* How I shall laugh at those who despise this warning! The bloody old *Times* newspaper, that constant tool of the Boroughmongers, which well knows that its very existence depends on theirs, has said, in form of a letter from Sussex, that COBBETT's going into that county had added to the mischief. If the advice which I there gave had been followed, *not another fire would have been heard of!* And now, even now, if the landowners and farmers of Kent and Sussex will pay my travelling expenses, and compensate me for the use of my time, *I will engage to put an end to the violences in a month.* "Sailor, will pump?" "No: *sink first!*" This old satire, which the soldiers play off on the sailors, is brought to my mind by the disposition of these people. "Will you be saved by Cobbett?" I verily believe, that the answer of the aristocracy, without a dissenting voice, would be: "No: be d——d first."

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

FROM MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

To the Editor of the Register.

#### LETTER III.

Paris, 6th Nov., 1830.

SIR,

1. THE new appointments to the ministry did not appear in the *Moniteur* till Wednesday the 3rd inst., a few hours before the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies; so that the final formation, or reformation, of the councils of the King of the French was procrastinated till the last moment. The council had been sitting frequently for seven hours together, and all day and all night, as the time grew nigh, so great was the difficulty of settling this reformation, which, however, was become absolutely necessary. The ministry is now composed as follows:

M. LAFITTE, President of the Council, and Minister of *Finance*.

M. DUPONT (de l'Eure), Minister of *Justice*.

Marshal GÉRARD, Minister of *War*.

COUNT SÉBASTIANI, Minister of *Marine*.

Marshal MAISON, Minister of *Foreign Affairs*.

COUNT de MONTALIVET, Minister of the *Interior*.

M. MÉRILHON, Minister of *Public Instruction* and of *Worship*.

Of these, Messieurs Lafitte, Maison, Montalivet and Mérilhon take the places of Messieurs Louis, Molé, Guizot and Broglie, and the three last are *new Ministers*.

2. This is considered, upon the whole, as a sweeping off of the men whose principles are obnoxious to the interest of the people at large, and who thought that they could arrest the progress of the Revolution at merely a change of dynasty, without enlarging the right of election, making the press free, or reducing the taxes. However, that you may be more able to judge for yourself, I will now relate some circumstances which have taken place within the last fortnight, such as will, I think, give some idea of what has been going on correspondent with these proceedings of state.

3. I told you in my last letter, that the project for excepting the Ministers of Charles X. from justice, had rendered it necessary to change the ministry. One incident shows clearly how the project has caused the change. On Tuesday the 19th of October, when there had been no formal disavowal of the project, because, probably, the projectors were ashamed of openly retracing their steps, it was found necessary to stop the exasperation of the people, and no less than half-a-dozen proclamations, addresses and appeals, were placarded by the different authorities; one of these was a speech of the King made on the Monday to the National Guard and people assembled at the Palais Royal, which was to the effect that the prosecution would continue, and the law for abolishing the pain of death be deferred till after the trial; but nothing was entirely satisfactory to the people except an address from the *Prefect of the Seine to his fellow-citizens*. The Prefect not only pledged himself that justice would take its course, but he *disapproved of the step which had been taken by the government*; so that his sincerity was beyond doubt, and his address had the effect of immediately quieting the people. I observed groups of people reading it in hundreds of places; and, indeed, they continue to read it, as it remains on the walls, to this moment; and, I have taken notice that comparatively few persons read any of the other placards which I have spoken of. I should think that there is not now one inhabitant of Paris, nor, indeed, of any town in France, that does not know its contents. Without further describing it, I think I had better translate it here, though it is rather long; and, it is to the following effect:

*The Prefect of the Seine to his Fellow-Citizens.*

4. Your Magistrates are profoundly afflicted by the disorders which are again disturbing public tranquillity, at the moment when commerce and manufactures, which stand so much in need of security, were just surmounting the crisis of difficulty which has already been too much prolonged. It is not

*vengeance* which is wanted by the people of Paris, who are still the people of the three great days, the bravest and most generous upon the earth, but, *justice*: justice is, in fact, a necessary to men of intellect and courage: vengeance is a pleasure for weak-minded and cowardly men. An *INOPPORTUNE STEP* (*démarche inopportune*) has led to the supposition that there existed a design to interrupt the course of justice in favour of the former Ministers; some delays, which are nothing but the complying with forms which add to the solemnity of justice, have tended to confirm this supposition, and which our untractable enemies, who are always on the watch to disunite us, are eager to urge on the public: hence this popular commotion, which, as far as good men and good citizens are concerned, has no other foundation than a miscomprehension. I declare to you, my fellow-citizens, with the greatest confidence, that the course of justice has not been, and will not be, suspended; the proceedings upon the accusation against the former Ministers continue: those Ministers belong to the law, which alone will decide their fate. Good citizens can desire nothing more; and the cries for death which are uttered in the streets, in the public places, and the placards, are violences done to justice. We wish for others that which we wish for ourselves, namely, upright and impartial judges; but, some men who are either led astray or are ill-disposed, menace the judges before the trial is begun! People of Paris, you do not avow these violences; you hold the accused sacred; they are placed under the safe-guard of the law. To insult them, to hinder their defence, to anticipate the decisions of justice, is to violate the laws of all civilized society: it is to fail in the first duty which belongs to liberty: it is more than criminal, it is infamous. There is not one citizen in this noble and glorious population, who does not feel that it makes part of his honour and duty to prevent an outrage which would disgrace our Revolution. Justice ought to be done, but violence is not justice! Such is the voice of all



good men; such will be the principle of the conduct of your Magistrates. In this grave matter, they rely on the good will and assistance of all true patriots to enforce the measures taken for guaranteeing public order.

(Signed) *Councillor of State, Prefect of the Seine.*

ODILLON BARROT.

5. This address quieted the people, but disturbed the government. For, Monsieur Guizot could not bear this act of *insubordination* on the part of Monsieur O. Barrot, and the discontent and confusion, exasperation and mortification, were immediately changed from without to within, and a fair trial of strength was begun. The odium of the measure which had been intended was bad enough, some thought, without its being proclaimed by a person holding a very important office of the government. Monsieur Guizot, being Minister for the whole of the interior of France, to its outermost limits, advises a measure; and Monsieur O. Barrot, whose control is confined to one department, says it is an inopportune measure; but, this department contains Paris, Paris is immediately under his care, and the measure of M. Guizot was disturbing the government of M. O. Barrot. M. Barrot was not to wait for the issue of the extended plans and deep philosophy of M. Guizot, if the prosecution of them were incompatible with maintaining the already settled and determined laws of police and the regular course of business in the capital. He, of course, felt himself responsible in his own department, and, unless he were to show himself unfit for his station, he was to take whatever means were necessary to ensure his object; and, he was too good a judge of the state of things to believe that he could effect the peace of the city by vague words; knowing that there was no power to keep down the people, and finding that it depended on words, he was obliged to use those which would have effect, and was reduced to prove in the plainest possible manner his own sincerity, to gain belief.

6. General Lafayette said, in voting

for the address, that it was necessary to *have breathed the air of the barricades*, to view the matter in its proper light. M. Barrot took, then, his view with this advantage, for he had fought in the bravest manner with the people during the three days, being one of the few exceptions amongst his class who condescended to venture their blood for the new dynasty, which they have since said they so much wanted. M. Barrot was, in consequence, with general approbation, one of the commissioners for the conducting off of the Bourbons; and the appointment of him to his very important office of Prefect of the Seine was one of the most popular and judicious appointments made by the King. This gentleman was a deputy, has long been much admired, has great talents and an excellent character; and he seems to have been determined not to lose it for want of a *little word*, however that little word might annoy those above him, when it was necessary for keeping the peace of a million of people. This act of "insubordination" is something like the act of the mate of our captain of the good ship *Imperier*, which took us to New York in 1817, and who, in spite of the log-book and reckoning of his master, which taught that we were going straight to our port, perceived that we were going aground in Rhode Island Bay, and tacked the ship about. In this case, the eyes of the mate were better for us than the nautical science of the master, or you would possibly have escaped from Sidmouth's dungeons only to drink his health in the salt water of the Atlantic; and, whatever the false professors of philanthropy and the *perfectionnement* of the human species may think of M. Barrot, the good citizens of Paris like him very well.

7. The trial of strength began at the elections, as, in consequence of having accepted an office, M. Barrot had to submit himself again to his electors. He was Deputy for Orleans (curious enough!) and his constituents *rejected him!* This gave nuts for M. Guizot and his party, who are not small in the

Chamber, nor amongst the 80,000 select electors of this "republic" of nearly thirty-two millions of people. However, he has been elected for Evreux; this election was, on the contrary, very triumphant, but, you should observe, that it was by the means of great influence in the department of Eure, which is possessed by Monsieur Dupont, who is Minister of Justice, and is the close friend, in consequence of unity of principles, of M. Barrot.

8. M. Dupont is about the age of General Lafayette; he has possessed popularity ever since the commencement of the first Revolution; he has undivided influence in the department of Eure, in which he was born, and he was included in the ministry at its first appointment. But, by the preponderance of men of a different sort, he has had no influence up to the moment of the reformation of it of which I wish to give you an account. One little anecdote will convince you of this. Messrs. HUBERT and THIERRY, president and vice-president of the society of the *Friends of the People*, were, on Friday week last, the 22d of October, to be put in prison to undergo their sentence of three months' confinement. On the Sunday previous, M. Dupont, this affair being under his cognizance, amongst other ordinances which he had deposited on the table of the King for his signature, had put one *for the remission of these sentences*. M. Guizot (*pour s'amuser*), turns over these ordinances, and, copying this one, says nothing: but, the next morning, the public perceived in the *Journal des Débats*, which is the organ of M. Guizot's party, a paragraph announcing *that the King had remitted the sentences*. The paragraph appeared before the time came for the King to take the ordinances into consideration; so that the matter became talked about, fully discussed in the council, and given the go-by. The following morning, the *Moniteur* contained the following paragraph: "We read in the *Journal des Débats* that the sentences of three months' imprisonment against Messrs. Hubert and Thierry have been remitted: the fact is false." When the

paragraph was read in the *Journal des Débats*, it was considered as showing a disposition to please the public, which the fact would have done. But, the ministry sagaciously deemed, that, at that moment, when they had given such great offence, it was impolitic to seem to court popularity, or *to be afraid*. At all events, the contradiction came at an unlucky moment, and increased the irritation, and also the contempt for the government, who thus showed singular want of judgment and of grace combined. Finally, the gentlemen whom I have named were duly put into their prison, in the *Saint Eglise*; but only ten days before the statesmen of the old Bourbon stamp had to give up the power of practising their crochets of degenerated jesuitism.

9. Another circumstance connected with this affair of the *amis du peuple*, will show you that M. Dupont had no influence in the appointing of law-officers, which is naturally belonging to his province. On the 1st of October, just previous to the trial of Messrs. Hubert and Thierry, M. BERNARD, Procureur-general at the Cour d'Appel, and whose office it would be to conduct the prosecution, was removed, and installed Counsellor at the Court of Cassation; and M. PERSIL was made Procureur-general. Now, both these gentlemen being Deputies, the first had, a short time before, expressed an opinion in disapprobation of applying the article 291 of the code respecting political offences, and which prohibits meetings of more than twenty persons, to the case of this society; and M. Persil warmly delivered a different opinion. The mode of the installations was also remarkable, as they took place immediately after the appointments appeared in the *Moniteur*, and, contrary to custom, the ceremonies were performed with closed doors and without the usual orations on the part of the persons installed.

10. M. LABREY DE POMPIERES, who was amongst the twenty-two who voted against the "inopportune" address, is father-in-law of M. Barrot. You perceive, therefore, further, the connexion of Messieurs Dupont and Barrot, and the

colour of their principles. This mixture in the ministry has been what has been all along talked of as strange, by almost all parties. I do not recollect hearing it entirely approved of by any body but Mr. Brougham, who wrote a letter to this effect, to Sir F. Burdett, I believe, nearly at the same time that he said, in his speeches to the people of Yorkshire, that the heads of the ministers of Charles X. ought to roll in the dust. The truth is, I believe, that such men as M. Dupont were selected merely for their name; indeed it was so, for his name, as "*garde des sceaux*," was, as I have stated, put to appointments which he had had nothing to do with. In the same way Lafayette would have been served, as he has been, where he is, a sort of unorganized minister. Would you believe, that the General did not hear that Talleyrand was to be ambassador, till he saw it in the newspapers? one would think it impossible, but, for the honour of this worthy man one is glad to believe it.

11. The King himself appears not to have been so sensible of the unpopularity of the government as General Lafayette and M. Dupont; but, as they began to talk of retiring, and the office of the General being the important one of commander-in-chief of the National Guard, the fate of the other men was soon decided. I cannot believe that the condition of the General's remaining at his post was that the Prefect should not be removed from his; that would have been too ridiculous and mad to be thought of for a moment. On the evening of the 18th, the *Quotidienne*, which is the organ of the old Royalists, taunting this government, and describing the excitement of the people, said, *that the royal family were retired to Neuilly*; an order was immediately despatched to the post-office *to stop this paper, until the fact was contradicted*. But, if any such thing as the ousting of the Prefect were to be done, the King would certainly have done well to retire somewhere. Lafayette and Dupont, and particularly the former, because he began to feel the danger of being any longer connected with such men, or

rather committed to the consequences of their having any power, must have made it a condition that they should be turned out. Now, the King could not say nay to these men, in whose name or by whose countenance the government was carried on, and have unlimited confidence from the people, for any thing within the bounds of reason. The instance I have given you, of M. Dupont's causing the election of M. Barrot, in a department where M. Barrot is not particularly known, shows that he has solid influence from his character. Very different from that of Coke in Norfolk, whose will went for nothing against you when you proposed the Norfolk Petition, and when the meeting had an opportunity of declaring their mind without exposing their individual names. Give me the man who can give the order of the day to those who vote by ballot!

12. On Sunday last, there was a grand review of the National Guard, in the Champ de Mars, which had been announced a good while before. It was intended here to review the whole of the legions of this department of the Seine, which amount to the number of upwards of a hundred thousand men. You should understand, that there is a legion to each *arrondissement*, of which there are twelve in Paris, and there are four legions to the *ban-lieue*, which is all that part of this department, on the outside of the gates of Paris. It is customary for the mayors of the *arrondissements* and the mayors of the communes in the country, to appear at the head of their respective legions or companies. On this grand occasion, the Prefect of the Seine appeared at the head of the municipal body of Paris, and received the King with an address. As the address and answer have been published in all the papers, you may like to see them, and they are as follows:—

#### *Speech of the Prefect.*

SIRE,—A place has been marked out for the municipal body of Paris in this great and imposing solemnity; for, the municipal authority is as inseparable from the National Guard as the law



ought to be from the public strength. Deign to accept, Sire, the homage of a devotion which is the more unalterable, because it has its source in the love of country, and in our profound conviction, that the destinies of our France repose on your Majesty, on the virtues which surround your throne, and on the principles which you transmit to your noble family.

*Answer of the King.*

It is always with pleasure that I see the municipal authority at the side of the National Guard; they lend to each other a tutelary assistance in the maintenance of public order, beyond which, there is neither law nor liberty. It is when the public strength is contained within the bonds of legality that it disquiets no one, and that it protects the rights of all. I am very sensible to that which you evince for my family and for myself; I know that I merit these sentiments by my attachment to my country. I have always loved my nation; I have always rejoiced to find myself in the midst of it, and as I know that nothing can again separate me from its cause, and from the defence of its rights and its liberties, I thank you for having thought the same, and for having expressed it so well.

13. This review was held during a necessary lapse in the almost perpetual sittings of the council, which had been occupied during the week about the ministry, and on this day, Sunday, nothing was determined on, except, indeed, that Messieurs Guizot, Brogli, and Molé must go out. So that the Prefect presented himself with his complimentary speech at a moment when his presence might not give rise to very pleasant feelings. His appearing could not be very well omitted, and especially under all the circumstances, and the passing of the compliments went off very well. The King does not, indeed, in his answer, betray any very violent cordiality, though it is not his custom to be cold or stiff with those who come to pay him compliments. The words *public order*, *bonds of legality* and *protecting the rights of all*, which seem more like words addressed

to rebellious subjects, are not balanced sufficiently to show that he did not view the Prefect himself something in this light. "Public order," being the watchword of the enemies of the people, for it is the express term of the Royalists who qualified their oath to the new government, is a queer word to be constantly falling from the lips of this King; as to the "bonds of legality," they are those which were forged by the Bourbons during the occupation of the country by Wellington, Castlereagh, and the allied troops; and by the "rights of all" is generally intended those which were created at the same time.

14. Two friends of mine, one English and the other French, went to dine, after the review, at an hotel near the Champ de Mars; and they sat down at a table next to one where two of the National Guard sat down to dine also. Before they came away, another guard, belonging to a different legion, came and joined the two who were dining, and he related to his friends, that the chief of his legion had stepped out before the men and made a little speech to the King, something to the following effect: "Sire, you behold my legion, and see what fine order it is in: it is as devoted to your Majesty as it was in the days of our Revolution." The guard went on to say, that they could not hear distinctly what the King said in answer; and, giving a toss with his arm and his head, observed, "Ah! il est encore entouré de ——" (Ah! he is still surrounded by ——" without saying what, but meaning aristocrats: about a hundred of the aristocracy of epaulettes, foreign officers and ministers, being in his train, and sometimes at his side.

15. It was intended to present four crosses of the legion of honour to each legion, at this review, and, notice of it was only given the night before, that the companies which each legion might choose to receive them should be ready. This mode of giving such short notice, and the thing in itself being ridiculous, and these paltry honours having been before treated with the proper contempt by the young men of

the polytechnique medicine and law schools, many of the legions refused to accept the crosses; and those who did not directly refuse expressed their disapprobation: so that the presentation of the crosses did not take place; but, in every respect the review was a perfectly fine show, the accoutrements, order, and discipline of the troops being their own pride. They seem to feel the self-complacence of men who are happy to think that they fulfil their duty "with honour to themselves and advantage to their country." The difference, however, between gentlemen in the land of the Boroughmongers who are so fond of this phrase, and these French National Guard, is, that the latter do it without pay.

16. After the review, in the evening, the King held another council, always about the same concern, the ministry; and, as if the disappointed men who were about to be discarded; who had just received a sort of stigma by the non-acceptance of the crosses offered to the national guard; as if they would finish by making the King utter something spiteful for them, and take a little from his own popularity, perhaps, at the same time, seem to have put him in a humour at rising from his council to write the following letter to General Lafayette:—"It is with as much pleasure as confidence, my dear General, that, to be my interpreter with the National Guard, I address myself to him who gloriously commanded it in the memorable epochs of 1789 and 1830. Always animated by the same patriotism which guided me in my youth, when I was only a soldier devoted to the sacred cause of the liberty of my country, and to the defence of its independence, I this day have doubly enjoyed seeing these superb legions of the National Guard, so capable at the same time of awing the external enemies of the country, and those who may attempt, by exciting agitations within, to disturb our liberties and our institutions, and to trouble that public order upon which they must always depend. This day, so satisfactory for me and so ho-

nourable for the National Guard, is a sure guarantee, that, always checked by its spirit and its force, those culpable efforts, from whatever quarter they may come, will never attain their end, and that they will infallibly fall upon those who should have the unfortunate folly to undertake them. I have to thank the National Guard again for that which they have already done, and to express to them how much my heart is penetrated by the testimonies of affection by which I was surrounded to-day. Such are, my dear General, the sentiments which I pray you to manifest, on my part, to the National Guard, in renewing the assurance of my sincere friendship for you.

"Your affectionate

"LOUIS-PHILIPPE."

17. Upon this letter, you will, perhaps, be better satisfied with the remarks of a French editor, and I have selected some from the *National*, which is considered one of the most independent (for a fundholder) and one of the most ably conducted. "Why, in the good order and the striking unanimity of the marks of affection of which the King was yesterday the object, do his councillors this morning (Monday) see only a text upon which to address menaces to those whom they pretend are factious, to artizans of sedition, whom one sees no-where? France will believe, by this language, which is but too faithful a copy of that which was addressed to us by legitimacy in its days of peril, that the throne raised by our hands sees itself faced by a party who dare to menace it. There exists nothing of the sort; no fraction of public opinion has merited the hard words which are read in this letter of the King. People are neither factious, nor conspirators, nor mad, because they do not agree with Messieurs Guizot and Brogli, or Messieurs Perrier and Molé, upon the right of election, and upon the question of the peerage. Yesterday the King, shaking hands with every body, and acting in his own person, gained the hearts of all; to-day, the

"King, adopting impressions which  
 "are not his own, for it is no longer  
 "the King of the Champ-de-Mars  
 "whom we see in this letter: the  
 "King, we say, must appear little like  
 "himself to men who observed him  
 "yesterday. We know very well, that in  
 "strict constitutional language, the  
 "letter officially addressed to General  
 "Lafayette is a ministerial act, as is  
 "every-thing which emanates from a  
 "King who reigns and does not govern;  
 "but, in our present situation, a royalty  
 "which is quite young cannot be con-  
 "firmed but by the personal popularity  
 "of the Prince called first to exercise it:  
 "we will say, without fear of ceasing  
 "to be respectful subjects, that this  
 "popularity ought to be husbanded for  
 "great occasions; that it would have  
 "been well if the King had replied to  
 "marks of universal love by testi-  
 "monies of satisfaction equally to all;  
 "and that the care of intimidating and  
 "menacing the factions, if there be any,  
 "were left to a responsible ministry."

18. I will now, as the new ministry  
 have entered on their functions, con-  
 clude this letter with the speech of M.  
 Lafitte, delivered in the Chamber of  
 Deputies, on the Wednesday, the day  
 when the Chamber met, and a few  
 hours after he received his appointment.  
 His speech is as follows, if I have done  
 justice to it:

"Gentlemen: I come to this tribune  
 "to express to you my gratitude for all  
 "the marks of kindness which I re-  
 "ceived from you while I had the  
 "honour to be your president. Cer-  
 "tainly, if I consulted nothing but my  
 "own wishes, I should remain long  
 "in the chair where your suffrages  
 "called me, where your indulgence  
 "sustained me in the exercise of ho-  
 "nourable and difficult functions. But I  
 "have yielded to the august will, which  
 "myself and my colleagues should have  
 "thought ourselves to blame in disobey-  
 "ing. In the presence of grave events,  
 "the best citizens, the most skilful,  
 "were distrustful in their ability, and  
 "I have not been less diffident of mine;  
 "but, the King of France wanted mi-  
 "nisters, and I have devoted myself,

"with my colleagues, to superior ne-  
 "cessities. The end of representative  
 "government is, to try every name,  
 "every faculty, every public character  
 "(tous les noms, tous les facultés, toutes  
 "les popularités); to employ them, to  
 "sacrifice them even, in the service of  
 "the country; every one must submit  
 "in his turn to this trial; circumstances  
 "and not merit determine their dura-  
 "bility; circumstances have been and  
 "will be difficult for all: all owe it to  
 "France and to the King to encounter  
 "them. In this new career, gentle-  
 "men, I shall again have to claim your  
 "indulgence and your support; permit  
 "me to invoke and to hope for them.  
 "To *consolidate order*, without which  
 "there is no real liberty; to *complete*,  
 "*perfect*, and, above all, *cause to be*  
 "*respected, the laws*; to preserve con-  
 "cord between France and the rest of  
 "Europe, and to prevent whatever  
 "might disturb it: such is the duty  
 "and the wish of those to whom the King  
 "has confided the administration of  
 "the kingdom. Happy will they be  
 "who may contribute only in small  
 "part to so *fine and noble a work*!  
 "This happiness, if it fail to my lot,  
 "is that alone which can make me  
 "amends for the honour which I re-  
 "nounce to-day, and for the deep sa-  
 "crifice which I have made in accept-  
 "ing the high functions to which the  
 "King has deigned to call me. I  
 "renew, gentlemen, the expression of  
 "my gratitude, and I once more in-  
 "voke your favour and support."

Sunday, November 7th, 1830.

19. I have not time to offer any re-  
 marks upon this speech, as I must men-  
 tion M. MONTALIVET, the new Minister  
 of the Interior. That passage, however,  
 of M. Lafitte's speech, where he speaks  
 of the *end of representative government*,  
 has been thought approaching to *naï-  
 veté*, and he seems to utter it from the  
 bottom of his heart. Why, of course  
 this is the end of representative govern-  
 ment; and, the good of it is, that with  
 a very slight infusion (if I may so ex-  
 press it) of the principle of representa-  
 tive government in France, and more by  
 the will of the unorganized mass of the



people, this effect is produced. Here one cannot help repeating one's admiration of the common people, that is to say, men in their nearest state to nature, who, during the three days, by their deeds, have communicated the self-opinion now entertained, and the moral power which is possessed by the people at large, who gave rise to the same thing in Belgium, and have produced the same effect every-where.

20. Monsieur le Comte de MONTALIVET, is a peer, and by inheritance. These are both bad things to begin with. The peer, his father, was one of Buonaparte's ministers, of the most antiquated notions of feudality. He was Minister of the Interior also, and he always endeavoured that the mayors of communes and such persons were of a kind of nobility. There is also ancient nobility and modern nobility, and his taste was towards the crust and mould and bones of the ancients. The present minister is rather young, being not more than twenty-nine. His principles are not bad; that is to say good, but rather, I believe, negatively. The Chamber of Peers, which had been appointed to resume its sittings on Monday, met yesterday, and upon the order of the day for considering a law passed by the Deputies, this minister made his first speech. The occasion was, 1: *abrogating a law of the 11th of September, 1807, regulating the pensions for military services*, and, 2: *reviving those pensions which had been granted, under this law, since the 1st of January, 1828*. M. Montalivet, of course, supported the law, and in a speech of some length, observed, that "*retroactivity* was odious to those who wish for the preservation of social order, and that, as it would compromise the government without serving it, it would be impugned by no one more than by himself." So that the Revolution is not to be made stationary by him. Apropos, of the commencement of the new ministry, and also of the temper, disinterestedness and, above all, *wisdom* of the hereditary peers, they passed the first part of the law but rejected the second. No looking, peeping into pensions, said they; but they were

obliged to give up the law for the future.

I am, Sir,  
Your obedient Servant,  
WM. COBBETT, JUN.

A letter of the 9th, just received, informs me, that the *deposits* of the printers had been *reduced one half in amount*. Great alarm about the funds; and uncommon anxiety, for a day or two, about our *King's Speech*. Nothing had been yet said about *Talleyrand*, which was looked upon as a *bad sign* for the new Ministry. Uncommon anxiety on the part of the Government to avoid all talk about *Belgium*! The funds appear to be the only object of interest with the Government.

### PARLIAMENT.

LORD WINCHILSEA'S intended motion on the subject of *assessments upon the land to employ men who are out of work*. This is the rub, the real rub. Here the question between fund-lords and land-lords comes to issue. They come slap up in one another's teeth, and both cannot prevail. It is come now to what I always said it would, a question as to which shall be devoured by the cannibals of 'Change "Alley," the labourer or the landlord; and the burnings and breakings in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey are nothing more than the progress of this question, or, rather, they are its crisis. My readers will remember how often I have said that it would come to this very thing, burning and destroying; and they will also remember that I have not a few times said also, that it would begin in *Sussex or Kent*. I knew that English labourers would not lie down and die to any number with nothing but sour sorrel in their bellies (as two did at Acton in the beginning of this summer); I knew that they would never receive the *extreme unction* and die of hunger, as the poor Irish did, and be praised for their *resignation* by Bingham-Baring or Baring-Bingham, or whatever else he is, who found out, during the *panic*, that bankruptcy and insolvency was caused by a plethora of money; and who has now found out that England, owing to its "*position and the nature of its population*," must always, to a certain degree, *feel distress*! From its *position*! I

knew that all the palaver in the world, all the wheedling, coaxing, praying; I knew that all the blustering and threatening; I knew that all the teachings of all the Tract Societies; that all the imprisoning, whipping, and harnessing to carts and wagons; I knew that all these would fail to persuade the honest, sensible and industrious English labourer, that he had not an *indefeasible right to live*. O, God! with what indignation did I hear the unfortunate Irish *praised* because they *died of want*, while their country abounded in the means of subsistence! There is no man, not of a fiend-like nature, who can view the destruction of property that is now going on in the Southern counties without the greatest pain; but I stand to it, that it is the strictly natural course of things, where the labourer, the producer, *will not starve*. What is his homely reasoning upon the case? "I work twelve hours a-day to *produce this food*; I do *all* the real labour, and you, who *stand by and look over me*, deny *me even subsistence* out of it: *no*, if you give me none of it, you shall *have none yourself, at any rate*." And to work he goes, burning and destroying. Baring says, that the excesses that the lower orders may be driven to by violent language, will only make them *worse off* instead of alleviating their distresses. That is a very fashionable argument; but none the wiser for that. What, could these two men who died at Acton, with sour sorrel in their bellies; could these men be *worse off* than they were? Eat a little sour sorrel yourself, Baring; take a stretch out into the country for three or four days, without a farthing in your pockets, by way of test; and, if you feel hungry, eat a little sour sorrel yourself; lie three or four nights in a barn, or under a hedge; get some rough fellow to put you up to auction, and bid you not go near your wife; faith, I believe you would be ready to set fire to any-thing, except the Thames. But the horrible, the humiliating thing, the thing that I have always, in speaking and writing, and whether in public or in private, spoken of as a thing to avoid; the galling and the

fearful thing, is, that the burnings and breakings are to be followed, and *immediately*, too, by *inquiry into the state of the poor*; the poor are to be bettered immediately on their *determining to be so*! What is this, then, but justice extorted? And who is fool enough not to see how much better it would have been to avoid this by a timely attention to the distresses of the people? There are two noblemen, the DUKE of RICHMOND and LORD WINCHILSEA, whose conduct is deserving of great praise in this respect. The former brought the subject before the House of Lords last year, in a manner that did him great credit, and the exertions of LORD WINCHILSEA at this time are calculated to do great good. But the subject wants a *thorough examination*. The state of the poor, declining year after year, for many years past, just in proportion as the state of the loan-monger has been improving; this requires *thorough exposure*. They have gone on, *pari passu*, the labourer sinking and the loan-monger rising; and there is already matter enough in printed reports of committees of the House of Commons to convince anybody of the fact but a loan-monger-boroughmonger. Mr. HARVEY, on Friday night, moved a resolution directing the members of the House to furnish a kind of confession; but he withdrew it in order to bring it forward in an improved shape. Mr. HUME brought the King's printer to light, a Mr. SPOTTISWOODE. The office of King's printer has been one of the innumerable good things belonging to the THING. It is amusing to see, as this THING is day by day unfolding itself, how delicately all its parts are strung together. No wonder the Duke, if he had had it to do, would have *invented just such a thing* as we now have! Mr. HUME's speech upon this is well worth reading.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.—Nov. 4.

The House met at four o'clock, and the Lord Chancellor read his Majesty's Answer to their Lordships' Address.

#### EMPLOYMENT FOR LABOURERS.

The Earl of WINCHILSEA gave notice that he should lay a bill on their Lordships' table to

provide for the support and maintenance of agricultural labourers, by enabling the Justices of the Peace to make assessments on the land to employ such as were not employed, and to give relief to those landowners who employed the labourers.

#### DECLARATION AGAINST MINISTERS.

The Earl of WINCHILSEA went on to say, that being on his legs, he would take that opportunity of expressing the heartfelt gratification which he felt at the honest, the eloquent appeal which had been made to the House the other evening by Earl Grey. He sincerely hoped that the course of policy which that noble Earl laid down, both as to our foreign and domestic concerns, would meet the approbation of his Majesty's Government, and that it would have the good sense to adhere to the great principle of non-interference. It was not by arming one part of the population against another that we could now ward off the danger which threatened us, or that the security of property and of the institutions of the country could be maintained. If the people had grievances—and God knew they had; if these grievances were not redressed, there would be no security for property, and their Lordships would live to see our best institutions overturned. The best and only security was to be found in doing ample justice to the people, and in relieving their distress, and for this purpose an inquiry should be instituted into the condition of the great body of the agricultural labourers, who were loyal and faithful, but suffering very greatly. He could not restrain his astonishment at hearing the declaration made by the noble Duke the other evening, relating to Parliamentary Reform. The noble Duke thought our present Legislature so perfect, that he stated, "that if he had to form a Legislature, he would create one, not equal in excellence to the present, for that he could not expect, but something as nearly of the same description as possible. He could give nothing more perfect, more capable of satisfying the empire than the present Parliament!" (Hear.) That was not his opinion. Moderate reform ought to take place, such as had been described by the noble Earl the other evening, with whose eloquently-expressed sentiments he most cordially agreed. If reform, moderate reform, did not take place, he could assure the noble Duke that he would himself speedily witness the destruction of the best institutions of the country. He agreed fully with the sentiments of the noble Earl as to the degree of reform; he did not agree to the opinion that every man has a right to vote for Members of Parliament; he did not agree to the principle of universal suffrage, for the right of the people was to have a good government, and that was the best government which secured the interests and gave the most satisfaction to the enlightened body of the people. The present times were of no ordinary character. We were surrounded by dangers, and their Lordships would be blind to what they owed to

themselves—blind to that situation of great trust in which they were placed, and they would neglect the duties they owed to their country, the confidence of which in the wisdom of Parliament had been much shaken, if they did not take some measures to win back the respect and confidence of the people. He firmly believed, that if ever their Lordships should become blind to the trust reposed by the Constitution in them, the Constitution would not survive. They must do justice to the people, and then they would have the people ready to support and maintain those laws which were necessary to the security and prosperity of all. He regretted very much that the King's Speech had not alluded to the great pressure under which the peasantry of the country and the agricultural interest laboured; and he regretted that his Majesty had not recommended the House to take that interest into its consideration. The present Ministers were not in possession of the confidence of the country, and other individuals placed in their stations must rescue the country from danger. He firmly believed that all the Protestant part of the community had no confidence in the present Administration, and could only place confidence in such men as the noble Duke (Richmond, we believe) and the noble Earl (Grey, we believe), who had always acted consistently, and had never betrayed their principles and the confidence of other men, in a manner unparalleled in the history of the country. Such men possessed and deserved the confidence of the great body of the country. Such was the unpopularity of the present Ministry, that he believed, were it not for the influence of their office, they could not find in the new Parliament fifty votes to support their Administration. For the peace and safety of the country, he hoped, ere long, to see another set of men in their places, for they could not hold office without endangering all the institutions of the country.

The Duke of WELLINGTON spoke in such a low tone that he was scarcely audible below the bar. It was not usual to make such attacks and such speeches without some intimation; neither was it usual for their Lordships to refer to what had been said in former debates. At least, too, if that were the case, what was referred to ought to be stated accurately. The noble Earl had not represented correctly what had fallen from him.

The Earl of WINCHILSEA had no wish to misrepresent any thing; that was not his intention, and it would only have been fair in the noble Duke had he stated in what manner he had misrepresented him. The noble Earl then moved that their Lordships be summoned for Thursday next.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House met on Friday at two o'clock, and shortly afterwards Mr. Speaker accompanied by Lord Grimston and Mr. Dundas (the mover and seconder of the address) car-



ried up to his Majesty the Reply of the Commons to his Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne. The Speaker took the Chair at three o'clock, according to the new regulation with respect to the hour of sitting for the despatch of business.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Mr. O'CONNELL presented a petition from Cockermouth, praying for reform, and declaring that annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot, were necessary for the salvation of the country. The petitioners also said, and he (Mr. O'Connell) thought their words prophetic, that vengeance would speedily fall on the heads of those who lent themselves to the oppression of the people. The Government was as imbecile as it was mischievous, for it had put into the mouth of one of the most popular Sovereigns who had ever sat on the Throne, a Speech which could have no other effect than to make him disliked by his subjects. What else, however, could they expect when there was insanity at the helm? He said insanity, and he was justified in saying it, because the Premier, but one year before his elevation, declared that he would be mad if he thought himself capable of filling the situation of Prime Minister of this country. He since accepted that situation, and, therefore, he (Mr. O'Connell) felt he was at liberty to call him insane.

Mr. CROKER was much surprised that the hon. Member for Waterford, if he felt so strongly averse to the language of the Speech from the Throne, did not record that feeling more effectually by taking the sense of the House on the subject when that Speech was under its consideration the other night, and when he had the opportunity of ascertaining the feelings of the members in one of the most numerous assemblies ever congregated on such occasions.

#### DISTRESSES OF THE COUNTRY.

Mr. KENYON wished to put a question to the right hon. Secretary of State. He was anxious to ascertain whether or not it was the right hon. Gentleman's intention to propose the appointment of a Select Committee to take the distresses of the country into consideration, and to endeavour to devise some plan for their alleviation. It was a subject which demanded the most immediate notice of his Majesty's Government, and he should be happy to learn what steps they themselves meant to take respecting it. He regretted to see a passage in his Majesty's Speech which alluded to additional coercive measures; and he sincerely trusted that no such measures would be proposed.

Sir ROBERT PEEL rose to answer the question which the hon. Gentleman had put to him. It was not his intention to propose the appointment of a Committee to take into consideration the general distresses of the country. The hon. Gentleman was mistaken in supposing that any part of his Majesty's Speech alluded to measures of coercion.

Mr. HUME observed, that this was the period at which the Commons of England, if they had any complaint to make, or any grievance to represent, ought to make it. In the execution of his own duty, and in compliance with the requests of his constituents, he now begged to ask his Majesty's Government whether, the whole country loudly demanding relief for taxation, the Cabinet had made up their minds on that subject, as they had made up their minds on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. (Hear, hear, hear!) What he wanted was an unequivocal answer, aye, or no. The next thing to having a request granted, was to put the person by whom it was made out of the misery of suspense. The people of England were at present looking most anxiously for the relief which they expected would be afforded them; and they would no longer be put off, as they had been heretofore, by promises of economy. Before, therefore, he could agree to vote away any of the public money, he must ask his Majesty's Government if it was their intention to alleviate the burden of taxation which pressed so heavily upon the country; or if they were prepared to propose such a change in the present system of taxation as would remove the severity of the burden from the industrious to other classes. As to Parliamentary Reform, it was quite unnecessary for him to ask Government what their intention was in that respect, after the declaration which had been made elsewhere, that the present system of representation was not only good, but the best that could possibly be imagined. He believed that the noble Duke at the head of the Government, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite, had declared at Manchester that they had no wish to retain their places, except while they were found to act in conformity to the wishes of the people. When, therefore, they found that they were not acting in conformity to the wishes of the people, he trusted that they would redeem that pledge. He hoped that the people would show their wishes by petitions to that House, and by all other legal means. He trusted, however, that the people would use no other but legal means. If he could make his voice heard from one end of the country to the other, he would exclaim to the people, "If you wish to obtain your rights, and to benefit the country, abstain from all acts of violence." (Hear, hear, hear!) He implored every real friend to his country to act himself, and to use all the influence which he might possess over others to induce them to act, in forwarding the great object of relieving the people by all lawful means; by petition and remonstrance, couched in bold but proper language. There were in that and the other House of Parliament so many individuals who were interested in the continuance of the present system, because it worked well as it respected them, that they adopted every possible means of insuring its continuance. It was not surprising that these place-holders

should say to those over whom they possessed any influence, "Don't go to this meeting, or that assembly; don't sign such a petition; don't join in such a remonstrance." That, however, was not the advice which would be given the people by persons who were not interested in the maintenance of the existing abuses. When he considered of what the Duke of Wellington had shown himself capable in other situations, he confessed that he was astonished at his present conduct. He must have received his political impressions from other countries. Austria, Russia, Prussia, must have pressed their opinions upon him. Did the right hon. Gentleman or the Duke of Wellington mean to say that the people of England did not want Reform—that they did not want reduction of taxation, or that they did not want any interference in the affairs of Belgium? (Hear, hear, hear!) After that declaration, he had hoped that he should hear in his Majesty's Speech some expression of due consideration for the sufferings of the people. Those sufferings were great; but they were wholly disregarded; they were set at naught.

SIR ROBERT PEEL. The honourable Member for Middlesex asked whether his Majesty's Government intended to propose any reduction of taxation? He was confident, that on reflection the hon. Gentleman's experience would show him that the question was a very improper one. He must certainly decline giving any answer to the question, either affirmatively or negatively. But suppose he were to answer the question affirmatively, did not the hon. Member well know that such an answer must be followed up at once by enumerating the specific objects to which the intended reduction was to be applied? No inference whatever was to be drawn from his declining to answer the question. The hon. Gentleman talked of some pledge which he (Sir Robert Peel) had given last Session of the disposition of his Majesty's Government to refer themselves to public opinion. What he had stated last Session was this fact: that his Majesty's Government had made such an extensive reduction in the patronage of the Crown, that no administration could rely upon the permanent possession of office unless they felt themselves supported by the confidence of Parliament and the country. But the hon. Gentleman must not conclude from that declaration, that his good opinion would at all influence him (Sir Robert Peel) in the discharge of his duty. If the hon. Gentleman joined in the vulgar imputation on public men, that they were unduly influenced by their wish to retain the paltry emoluments of office; if he thought it necessary to caution the people against listening to the advice of such persons because they were interested in giving that advice, he knew not by what test the hon. Gentleman was prepared to prove the truth of his insinuations; but he knew that they were most uncharitable, and most unjust. The only considerations which his Ma-

esty's Government had in contemplation, were the welfare of the people, and their permanent interest. The people must judge of their motives by their measures.

Colonel DAVIES would do the right hon. Gentleman the justice to say, that he did not believe he was influenced by any love of paltry emolument or of place. But that had no influence on his opinion of the public conduct of his Majesty's Government; and he would say, that if they were not the most discreet and clever of Ministers, they were as bold as any that ever existed; not even excepting Polignac. The Duke of Wellington had expressed his determination to resist every species of reform. He had gone so far as to tell the House of Lords that "if he were to form a Legislature, he would create one—not equal in excellence to the present, for that he could not expect to be able to do—but something as nearly of the same description as possible." The right hon. Gentleman, not to be behindhand with his noble colleague, had told them that evening, forsooth, that his Majesty's Government were not prepared to say that they had any intention of reducing the taxation of the country. If persons suffering distress felt disaffection, whose fault was it? Was it not the fault of those who drove them into cherishing that feeling by resisting the signs of the times? The best friends of the Government were those who told them the real condition of the country; their worst enemies were those who blinded them to that condition.

MR. BARING said, there were some expressions in the speech of the honourable Member for Middlesex, which he could not let pass without offering a few observations. As far as his experience went, they had not had a period since the war, when all the essential interests of the country were moving on more satisfactorily than they were a few months ago: he did not mean splendidly, nor with great profit to those engaged in agriculture, trade, and commerce, but until the late excitement on the Continent, he was convinced there never was a period when all branches of industry were proceeding in a manner more satisfactory. Since that period, excitement on the one side, and apprehension on the other, had in some degree affected the condition of this country; but not to a great extent. He had often complained in that House of tampering with the currency as a fruitful cause of mischief and distress; but if there now was one thing more than another which a man wishing well to the general interests of the country, and especially the interests of the working classes, should earnestly observe, it was the abstaining from disturbing the mind of the people at the present period, by those exaggerated statements and that inflammatory language which he regretted to find had been, since the commencement of the session, too frequently brought into use. Was it a fact that the House of Commons was acting

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merely on a mercenary regard for its own interests? (Loud cheers.) The sooner this was explained the better. It was true that public officers were paid; and this was a part of the Constitution of the country, and he thought a wise part. It was also true that the great officers of the State had seats in Parliament; and this, too, he thought was well: and unless the hon. Member meant to say that all public offices should be monopolized by men of large fortune, it was impossible that persons holding such offices, and having seats in the House, should not receive money for their public services. It might be that unfounded assertions, from the confidence with which they were put forward, might find credit with some new Members; but if these gentlemen had been, like him, five-and-twenty years in the House, they would know that concession and reduction with respect to places of this description had been always going on; that there was not one of them which did not require much labour and anxious thought, and that they certainly were not overpaid: at least, he was not aware they were overpaid. If they were so, let the hon. Member show that they were, and how they were overpaid. Let him point out the saving which could be effected, and he (Mr. Baring) thought that the experience of his conduct would prove that he would not hesitate to concur in a proper or advisable reduction. (Cheers.) But he would say that, in the present condition of the country, exaggerated statements and inflammatory observations, addressed to the lower classes, were calculated to provoke a state of things which would press most grievously upon them and the country at large. Now, as he was on the subject of such statements, he would remark, that he lately saw in a placard set forth in a window, that the Earl of Eldon had pensions and allowances to the amount of 50,000*l.* a-year. There was in the card in the window a long list of other pensions given to other persons, and equally well founded with that attributed to Lord Eldon: it was well known his Lordship received his retired pension, as a Lord Chancellor, of 4,000*l.* a year. He was no admirer, and never had been an admirer, of Lord Eldon's political character, but his private character it was impossible not to respect; and he was sure no one would say that a man, who had devoted so long a period of his life to the arduous duties of his office, was overpaid with such a retired pension. (Hear, hear!) But if, perchance, the honourable Member should think it excessive, let it be brought before the House. It really was, however, impossible to see such exaggeration without a strong feeling of the danger it cannot fail to produce. The House of Commons was acting in the face of the country. It was good for nothing but as representing the feeling of the sound and sensible part of the community, which, thank God, by the increased diffusion of education, formed the great body of the people, and was able to

judge honestly and truly of the measures brought forward in the House. (Cheers.) From this portion of the people it was impossible to conceal any-thing; it was not desirable to conceal any-thing from them; but it was the duty of every man, who had the interest of his country at heart, to disavow and expose exaggeration, and condemn the use of inflammatory language. (Loud cheers.) He was led to make these observations from his knowledge of the great credulity which prevailed as well in a certain portion of the mercantile class, as in other classes of the community, and apprehension of the mischief that might be occasioned. He disapproved of the question which had been put to Government, respecting the repeal or reduction of taxation. He considered the proper course to pursue would be first to go into the Committee, and see if the right hon. Gentleman opposite proposed any extravagant grant. If he did, then oppose him. Let them proceed upon the principles of an enlightened economy (hear, hear), not upon those of a low, sordid economy. (Cheers.) There was one other topic to which he wished to advert, knowing the unpopularity which attached itself to any man who said there was not any great distress in the country. The fact was, the country always must be, from its position, and from the nature of its population, to a certain degree in a state of distress. At present, therefore, there was, as at all other times, distress; but it was not any-thing to be compared to that which existed any year since the peace. It was a gross exaggeration to describe the people of England as a starving people. (Loud cheers.) The country was going on in a reasonable, quiet way; excitement, as he said before, on the one side, and apprehension on the other, had, it was true, produced a temporary exacerbation; but the course which exaggerated statements would probably lead the lower orders to, would have the effect, not of alleviating, but of increasing the evils under which they suffered.

## DOMESTIC [AFFAIRS.

### FIRES.

GREAT alarm prevails at Hounslow, Bedfont, Northhidge, Lampton, and Heston, amongst the farmers and agriculturists, for the safety of their property, in consequence of the work of incendiaries having commenced in the neighbourhoods above-named; and threatening letters have been sent to the following farmers and gentlemen who have estates upon which they have for some time used machinery instead of hand labour:—The Rev. — Trimmer, at Heston, one of the magistrates for the county; Mr. Peto, at Heston, the builder in the Waterloo-road; Mr. Taylor, of Lampton; Mr. Parsham, of Northhidge; Mr. Sherwin, of Bedfont, and many others. The threatening epistles are signed, as they are in Kent, by the name of "Swing," and are to the same purport. About a forti-



night since one of them was sent to Mr. Sherwin, at Bedford, declaring that unless he immediately dispensed with his threshing-machines his barns should be razed to the ground. Mr. Sherwin took no notice of the threat, with the exception of keeping a sharp look out after any suspicious characters.

On Tuesday afternoon last, about two o'clock, it is said that two respectably dressed men, who were travelling in a barouche, stopped a boy on the road, and one of them said, "Who's your master, boy?" The boy replied, "Master Sherwin, Sir." "Oh, then, tell him to keep a look out;" and then drove on. The boy, it is said, told his master of the circumstance upon his return, yet still it did not excite any alarm in Mr. Sherwin. About ten o'clock, however, the same night, his two barns, several outhouses, and stabling, were discovered to be on fire, and the flames raged so rapidly, that very little of the stock could be saved. The villagers, as might be imagined, as well as those adjacent, were roused to the highest state of alarm, especially those to whom letters had been sent.

Messengers were despatched to Brentford for the engines, but before they could arrive the whole of the barns and outhouses were destroyed. The incendiaries, previous to firing the stables, had removed the horses to a place of safety hard by, where they were found afterwards by Mr. Sherwin. Nothing can exceed the excitement this diabolical outrage has created, and fears are entertained that further acts of a similar infamous nature will follow. The Magistracy and the most respectable farmers are using every exertion to trace out the incendiaries, but up to last night not the remotest clew could be obtained. When our informant left, the villages surrounding Bedford were in the greatest state of suspense and alarm, and it is feared other fires will take place during the night. Mr. Sherwin's loss is very great.

#### MORE FIRES IN SUSSEX.

(From the Brighton Guardian of Wednesday, November 10.)

On Sunday evening, about six o'clock, a barn, in the occupation of Mr. Hilder, at Robertsbridge, agent to the Hastings Bank, was discovered to be on fire, and, with its contents, was entirely consumed. Our informant states that two or three other fires were discoverable at a distance, but he could not give us any positive account of their exact situation. On the same day the labouring population of Burwash assembled *en masse*, and declared their determination of taking Freeman, the Assistant Overseer, by force, and carrying him without the boundaries of the parish, accompanying the avowal of their intentions with a threat of severe punishment if he ever again were seen in Burwash. The poor were appeased by being informed that a general meeting of the Magistracy, farmers, lawyers, tradesmen, and labourers of the several parishes in and about Battle would be held

at that place on the morrow (Monday), for the purpose of raising the wages of the labourers. This had the desired effect; and we trust that our neighbouring farmers will follow the example thus set them, which, we suggest, is the best means of protecting their property against the incendiary.

While writing the above, a person from East Grinstead has informed us that the premises of Mr. Kenuard, on Old Tie Common, were fired last night.

#### LEWES.

The terrible conflagrations which have taken place in the neighbourhood of Battle, have spread a universal gloom over this town and its neighbourhood; but, in the midst of our anxiety, we have the consolation to find that nothing of the kind has occurred in the vicinity of Lewes, although we are not free from alarm, threatening letters having been sent to neighbouring farmers, and suspicious persons having visited the premises and made certain inquiries respecting them. Those of them who have threshing-machines on their premises are removing them with all possible despatch. We have heard that Lord Sheffield and family have left Sheffield place in consequence of the threatening letters his Lordship has received, and that a strong nightly watch is established to guard the premises. These threats are alleged to have been caused by the unpopularity of his Lordship's steward, who appears to have rendered himself obnoxious to the neighbourhood. The dismissal of the steward was demanded, with which his Lordship instantly complied.

To so great a pitch were the excited feelings of some of our town's-people raised, that an effect was produced on their ocular powers. On Friday morning, the 5th instant, when about twenty bonfire-boys were seen on the Lewes Hill, getting furze for their fire, the circumstance was augmented into a body of five hundred men with bats or large sticks in their hands, scouring the hills in the direction of Offham, and marching up the country. A thousand conjectures followed, and reports springing from these conjectures spread, which happily proved alike unfounded. On the same day, a detachment of the Life Guards, from Brighton, passed the western boundary of the town, on their route to London through East Grinstead.

#### HASTINGS.

On Thursday last, at Brede, near Battle, a scene took place which, perhaps, exceeds any thing yet reported. John Abel, the Assistant Overseer of that parish, employed the poor unfortunate paupers and distressed them more than was actually necessary. Nearly starved, and driven by want to desperation, the poor came to a resolution that things should no longer be endured. The threatening aspect of affairs led to a conference between the peasantry and the farmers, one of the results of which was that Abel should quit the parish. During the period of his power,

this man had compelled the poor labourers to drag a cart, laden with beach, to a wharf some miles distant. The day following that of the meeting of the delegates of both parties, the villagers brought the cart to Abel's door, seized him and placed him in it with a rope round his neck, to which a large stone was tied. Without scarcely an exception, the whole of the inhabitants accompanied the labourers, who thus drew him out of the parish attended by "rough music." They at first fixed on the parish of Westfield to deposit their load; but his *fame* having extended to that hamlet, he was rejected by the people, and the procession bent their steps to Vinehall, near Robertsbridge, where it appears, rubbish-like, he was "shot out" of the cart into the road, and there left, with this blessing,—that if ever he made his appearance again at Brede he would get his head broke. We trust that this proceeding will be a lesson to those *flinty-hearted assistant overseers* who seem to make a merit of oppressing the poor confided to their care. On these poor men's return, after this exploit, they told the farmers—their masters—that if they could not regulate matters, they would, if it were left to them: which the farmers, to keep them quiet, agreed to. "In the first place," they replied, "you pay too much by one-half to your parson—he shall not have so much." They then went to the parson (Hill), and told him what they had fixed as his demand. He replied, through fear perhaps, that he would accede. It appears now, that 2s. a day in winter, and 2s. 6d. a day in summer, is to be the regulation and law of Brede.

At Guestling, near this place, the paupers gave notice to the heads of the parish that their company was requested to meet them at ten o'clock in the forenoon of Monday, with this addition, that if they did not come they would be fetched. But few were absent from the meeting, at which about 130 labourers were assembled. They soon informed their late masters that they did not any longer intend to go on in misery; they had resolved on receiving higher wages. "What wages did they seek?" The reply was, "2s. 3d. a day till summer, and then 2s. 6d.; we only want to be paid for our labour; and that you may meet this fair demand, you must shake off the oppression of the tithes. Mr. Parson (he was there), we say to you, that as your demand on the parish has been raised to about 800*l.* a year for very little done by you, we demand that you do immediately give up 500*l.* a year to our employers." The parson very readily agreed to do so; the men gave three cheers, and every one went to his late *unsettled* home with happiness beaming in his countenance.

On Monday morning, about seven o'clock, a large barley-stack, belonging to Mr. Moses Fielder, of Eastbourne, was discovered to be on fire. By great exertions, Mr. Fielder was enabled to stop the further progress of the flames. Had it not been daylight, much mischief must have followed.

Saturday night, a straw barn, full of straw, belonging to Mr. James Hilder, of Robertsbridge, was burnt to the ground.

There was a full meeting of Magistrates at the George, Battle, on Monday. The town was full of labourers, amounting to nearly 700. About forty dragoons were in readiness, in case of any disturbance. Sir Godfrey Webster, in the most kind manner, addressed the men, telling them that they (the Magistrates) would continue to sit at Battle, Robertsbridge, and Hurst Green, till the peasantry were perfectly satisfied. All these places are in a convulsed state.

Mr. Mitting's barn at Hooe was burnt down on Monday night. The barn contained fifty quarters of oats, which were consumed with the building.

#### RYE.

The agriculturists in this neighbourhood are in a state of constant alarm, caused by the frequent recurrence of the burning of corn and hay-stacks and out-buildings. On Thursday evening, a fire was discovered at a farm in the parish of Icklesham, about six miles from this town, which destroyed about 140 quarters of oats in the straw, a stack of clover hay and a barn, the property of Mr. Henry Farncomb. Many other persons have received hints and threats of similar vengeance.

It at length appears to be pretty well understood, even by the large farmers and great landowners, that the poor will not endure suffering beyond a certain limit; that limit being overstepped has caused the destruction of machines. In several parishes, farmers have agreed to afford fair wages for labour; and where this humane course has been adopted, it has uniformly succeeded in quelling the turbulence of the peasantry.

#### APPREHENSION OF SOME OF THE SUPPOSED INCENDIARIES IN KENT.

CANTERBURY, Nov. 9, Three o'clock.—(*Extract of a Letter.*)—This morning at three o'clock, the principal turnkey at St. Augustine's, accompanied by some Bow-street officers and the town constables, to the number of eight, proceeded hence to the village of Bridge, on the Dover-road, about three miles distant; they were armed with pistols, cutlasses, and crow-bars. When they reached Bridge they proceeded to the cottage of a man named Taylor, whom they took into custody without his making the least resistance, telling them that he did not care what happened to him, *as his condition in life could not be made worse.* Part of the officers then proceeded to the village of Kingston, where they surrounded the house of another cottager, whom they also apprehended, and conveyed both their prisoners into Canterbury gaol this morning.

We have since learned that information has been given against the prisoners as having been among the most active in the late *depre-dations on machinery.* Taylor is a shoemaker, but states, that not being able to

procure full employment, he has occasionally gone to agricultural labour; that his condition in life has been miserable, and his family nearly starving.

The parishes of Preston and Wingham are now patrolled nightly; the greatest alarm prevailed at the latter place this morning, in consequence of the head officer having delivered in a report that they had heard during the night several shots, and one of the patrol was hit by a spent ball in the hat, which, however, did him no injury. Rockets were also seen in various directions, let off in the air.

There was a sale of some wood at Waltham, near this city, to-day, belonging to Sir J. Courtney Honeywood, Bart.; one person who purchased part of the wood was openly threatened, that unless he raised his labourers' wages it should be consumed by fire.

*Proceedings in the Common Council of London, relative to the countermanding of the entertainments to be given to the King and Queen.*

On Monday morning last, the 8th of November, the following documents were published.

**POSTPONEMENT OF THE ROYAL VISIT TO THE CITY.**

*" Guildhall, London, Nov. 7.*

"The Committee appointed to conduct the entertainment proposed to be given on Lord Mayor's-day next, on the occasion of their Majesties honouring the City of London with their presence, deem it their duty to give publicity to a letter received at nine o'clock this evening by the Lord Mayor from the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, of which the following is a copy:—

*" Whitehall, Nov. 7.*

"My Lord,—I am commanded by the King to inform your Lordship, that his Majesty's confidential servants have felt it to be their duty to advise the King to postpone the visit which their Majesties intended to pay to the City of London on Tuesday next.

"From information which has been recently received, there is reason to apprehend that, notwithstanding the devoted loyalty and affection borne to his Majesty by the citizens of London, advantage would be taken of an occasion which must necessarily assemble a vast number of persons by night to create tumult and confusion, and thereby to endanger the properties and the lives of his Majesty's subjects.

"It would be a source of deep and lasting concern to their Majesties, were any calamity to occur on the occasion of their visit to the City of London, and their Majesties have, therefore, resolved, though not without the greatest reluctance and regret, to forego, for

the present, the satisfaction which that visit would have afforded to their Majesties.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your obedient servant,

"ROBERT PEEL.

"The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor."

Upon the appearance of these documents, which were placarded all over London, the Common Council of the City was called together; and the following is a report of their proceedings.

Sir Robert Peel's letter having been read to the Court,

Mr. LEDGER begged to know whether that letter contained the whole of the information which his Lordship was able to lay before the Court? It appeared to him that the letter was an answer to some communication made to the Ministers from the City of London (hear hear), and he was desirous to know whether his Lordship could add any thing calculated to open the eyes of those interested in so important a question?

The LORD MAYOR Elect said, that he rose under feelings of a very painful nature, to address the Court. Nobody more deeply lamented the unfortunate event of which every one spoke than he did, particularly as it was supposed that his conduct had led to that result. But the Court should have a full opportunity of judging to what extent he was blameable, as they should have the opportunity of hearing read the communication which he had thought it expedient to transmit to the Duke of Wellington. He had received letters from various quarters lately on the subject of his Majesty's expected visit. Some of those letters stated that there would be a most decided difference between the reception which awaited the King, and that which awaited the Duke of Wellington—that his Majesty would be received with the most ardent expressions of loyalty (hear, hear), but that it would be far otherwise with the Duke of Wellington (Hear, hear.) Upon the merits of the question as to the contrasted treatment, he should not enter. He had received other communications also, stating that it was the intention of a set of desperate and abandoned characters to attack the Duke; and upon such a foundation was his communication to his Grace built. He had previously, in a communication with Sir Robert Peel upon the subject, heard the Secretary say, "*What are we to do with the Duke of Wellington?*" After a few words more, which we could not hear for the above-stated reason, the following letter was handed by the Lord Mayor Elect to one of the Clerks of the Court, and read:—

"My Lord Duke,—From the station of Lord Mayor to which I have been elected, numberless communications are made to me both personally and by letter, in reference to the 9th, and it is on that account I take the liberty of addressing your Grace. Although the feelings of all the respectable citizens of London are decidedly loyal, yet it cannot be



be known there are both in London as well as the country a set of desperate and abandoned characters who are anxious to avail themselves of any circumstance to create tumult and confusion, while all of any respectability in the City are vying with each other to testify their loyalty on the occasion. From what I learn, it is the intention of some of the desperate characters alluded to, to take the opportunity of making an attack on your Grace's person on your approach to the Hall. Every exertion on my part shall be used to make the best possible arrangement in the City; but should any sudden and violent attack be made in one quarter, any civil force alone might not be sufficiently effectual; and I should not be doing my duty, after what I have heard, did I not take the liberty of suggesting to your Grace the propriety of your coming strongly and sufficiently guarded. I probably may be considered giving you needless trouble, but the respect which I, as well as every person who really wishes the welfare of the country, must have for your Grace, and the gratitude we owe you, has induced me to adopt this course.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"With the highest respect,

"Your very obedient humble Servant,

"JOHN KEY, Lord Mayor Elect."

[Here there were expressions of disapprobation, and some cries of hear, hear!]

MR. FIGGINS: Was that communication made to the Duke with or without the advice of the Court of Aldermen or the Committee?

THE LORD MAYOR ELECT: It was made without advice.

MR. LEDGER said, that on account of the personal nature of the matter before the Court, the discussion ought to take place with closed doors.

MR. GALLOWAY deprecated discussion with closed doors. He had, he said, listened attentively to the letter, and he regretted much that so injudicious a communication had been made by the Lord Mayor Elect. He, however, could not but say that he believed the motive to have been a good one, although the suggestions were most unadvisedly and unwisely made. (Hear, hear.) A certain evil had sprung from the communication, which owed its origin to the Lord Mayor Elect; but it was attributable to misconception and mistake, to which his Lordship would, no doubt, look back, during his life, with great pain. (Hear, hear.) They (the Corporation) were in difficult circumstances, and it required the exercise of judgment and forbearance to extricate them from these difficulties. It was their duty to convey to the Executive Government their opinions on the subject of the postponement of his Majesty's visit; and he thought it would be a good precursor of those opinions if the Lord Mayor Elect would acknowledge his regret at having made the communication which the Court had just heard read. (A partial cry of hear.)

THE LORD MAYOR ELECT rose under much

apparent agitation. He was, he said, much obliged to the gentleman who had just spoken, for the mild manner in which the accusation had been made. The communication had been sent to his Grace in a moment without consideration, and he (the Lord Mayor Elect) should certainly never cease to regret that he had acted so erroneously. (Hear, hear.) He assured the Court that it would operate upon him as a caution in his future proceedings, which he should take care should never be considered as unadvised. It would give him the greatest happiness to adopt the advice just tendered to him, but he wished it to be distinctly understood, that it was an error to suppose that he meant to advise the Duke of Wellington to come into the City accompanied by the military. His object was merely to induce his Grace to pass guarded through those parts of the Metropolis where the New Police were so unpopular. (Hear, and some expressions of disapprobation.)

MR. DIXON, who spoke in such a tone as to be scarcely audible, said, "God forbid that any man should not be able to come to dinner in the City in safety." (Cheers.) If the Lord Mayor Elect had erred in expressing his doubts on the subject, the error was of the head, not of the heart. (Hear.)

MR. CLARKE (of Bishopsgate) said that the Court could not but be of one opinion on the subject. They deprecated the interference of the Lord Mayor Elect on such an occasion, without holding a consultation with his brother Magistrates (hear, hear); and he thought that a Committee should be nominated, to draw up Resolutions expressive of the feelings of the Court on the subject.

ALDERMAN VENABLES rose to defend the Magistracy of London from any imputation which might be cast upon it in the allusions made to the safety of his Majesty's person. He had most strictly attended to all the details of the police regulations made for the occasion; and he most solemnly declared, that the arrangements were perfectly adapted to the security of the peace and good order of the City. (Hear, hear.)

MR. EBENEZER TAYLOR wished to know whether the Court of Aldermen came to any resolution upon the subject of the communication made by the Lord Mayor Elect?

ALDERMAN HUNTER (the Lord Mayor's locum tenens) said, that the Court had come to certain resolutions, which the Town Clerk would read. [Here the Resolutions, as they are published, were read, and the Court expressed their approbation of them.]

MR. STEVENS did not see that the Lord Mayor Elect's letter was a matter of such heavy accusation. He thought, he had heard it spoken of, that it contained a comparison of the character of the citizens of London; but he begged to ask whether the very subject of it was not matter of common conversation amongst the Members of that Court? Whether it was not a matter of question that the Duke of Wellington would be treated with

respect and kindness. (Loud cries of "No, no," mingled with cries of "Hear.") He was convinced the statement he made was correct. (No, no, and laughter.) He admitted that an act of imprudence had been committed by the Lord Mayor Elect, because he *did not consult his brother Magistrates*; but beyond that there was no imputation upon that gentleman. (Cries of "Hear, hear," and murmurs.) But there was reason to believe that *other Members of that Court* had taken measures to inform the Duke of Wellington that it would not be advisable in him to attend the banquet. (Loud cries of "No, no," and cheers; and a call for the names of those who had so advised.) He should not name those persons, because he knew that they were manly enough to make the avowal in that Court. (Name, name.)

Mr. GALLOWAY said, he rose to avow that he was one of the individuals who had said, that after the extremely injudicious observations of the Duke of Wellington in a debate in the House of Lords, they would sign a letter to him expressive of their opinion of the *unfavourable reception which his Grace would probably meet*. (Hear, hear.) He was not one of those who blamed the Lord Mayor Elect for writing the letter: he only blamed his Lordship for *not saying why he wrote it*. (Laughter, and cries of "Hear.") He wished upon such an occasion, for the truth, and *the whole truth*; and if that had been told without reserve, there would have been no ground for censure.

Mr. LEDGER (the leader of the requisitionists) said that he lamented that it was his duty to move a resolution expressive of the sentiment of the Court on such an occasion. He lamented that such an unadvised and unauthorized communication had been made, and he was bound to speak out on so important a matter. That communication was a libel upon the citizens of London, and a disgrace to the Court of Aldermen. He regretted that the Lord Mayor Elect should so far forget himself as to propose what was calculated to produce the most ruinous consequences, and to suggest upon so vital a subject without consulting his brother magistrates. (Hear, hear, and expressions of dissent.) The Duke of Wellington was bound to notice such a communication, coming from such a quarter.

Mr. TICKNER said he had been informed that the letter produced was not the only letter sent to the Duke of Wellington on the subject—that *a member of that Court had also written a letter to the Duke*, which was calculated to add to the feeling upon which his Grace had acted, in advising his Majesty. (Cries of, Name, name.)

Mr. CHARLES PEARSON at once *admitted he had written a letter to the Duke on the subject*. He, however, considered himself bound *not to state the contents* until he should receive his Grace's permission, for which he had sent when he understood a Court was to be called. He then read the postscript of the letter, which stated, that in the event of an answer from the

Duke, *the communication should be kept quite a secret*.

Mr. BLEADEN said that the Court could not come to a Resolution of too loyal a description; he was of opinion that the King might come into the City with all his Ministers, but he believed also, that if any Minister were more unpopular than another, *that Minister was the Duke of Wellington*; if any Minister ever performed an act calculated to throw disrepute upon the Sovereign, the Duke was that Minister (Hear, hear).

Mr. ALDERMAN asked whether the communication received on the subject of the danger to the Duke of Wellington by the Lord Mayor Elect were anonymous or not. (Hear, hear.)

The LORD MAYOR Elect said, that one of the communications he received was anonymous, and signed, "A Citizen;" one of the verbal communications was from a Mr. Christie, of Gray's Inn-lane.

Mr. THORNHILL wished to hear *Mr. Pearson justify the course he had adopted*.

In Mr. CHARLES PEARSON's speech, that Gentleman, when explaining his motives for having written a letter to the Duke of Wellington, alluded to and distinctly mentioned the assemblages of the people at the Rotunda, on the Surrey side of Blackfriars Bridge, where, he said, the crowd were advised to arm themselves for the purpose of accomplishing a Revolution. Now, he asked, with a knowledge of all the facts which he had mentioned, had not he done right in making a representation to the Duke, not for the safety of his Grace, but to save the numerous starving individuals from the calamities which, in a period of tumult or excitement, might befall them? (Cries of no, no, and hear.) He felt quite satisfied himself of the propriety of the course he had pursued; and as he never did any thing in secret, he had informed the Chairman of the Royal Committee of what he had done. (Disapprobation, and cries of hear.)

Mr. WOOD wholly disapproved of the conduct of the Lord Mayor Elect, as did Mr. Thornhill.

Mr. LEDGER then moved a resolution, stating the unabated loyalty of the citizens of London to his Majesty, and condemning the conduct of the Lord Mayor Elect.

Mr. ROUTH moved, as an Amendment, that a Committee should be appointed to prepare a declaratory resolution, expressive of the loyalty of the citizens, and their regret that circumstances should have occurred to deprive the citizens of the gratification of the Royal visit.

The Amendment was, after some discussion, for which we have not room, agreed to, and the Court adjourned.

The Corporation of Poole have signalized themselves by setting a glorious example to all corporate bodies in the kingdom, by at once dispossessing themselves of their exclusive privilege to return Members to Parliament. They have, with a liberal spirit that

will shine like a morning star of future hope to the people of this kingdom, freely offered the elective franchise to all of the inhabitants of the town who may choose to accept it. Great things rise from small beginnings: may this noble example lead to those great results which alone will save England from the gulf of ruin!—*Bath Journal*.

#### ATTACK ON THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Being in the park on the day his Majesty went to Parliament House, my attention was directed to the announcement of the mob—"Here he comes! Here he comes! See, here comes Wellington! Now is the time, my boys!" At this moment an immense mob surrounded the Duke and his groom, who, with manly fortitude, bore patiently the insults of a lawless infuriated bauditti: groans, hisses, and gravel, were liberally bestowed on them, with tremendous vociferation of "No Police, no Police!" Seeing his Grace surrounded on all sides with a crew of furies, and pelted with gravel by a mob, I fearlessly got near his person, and, actuated with the spirit of an old British tar, I boldly took off my hat, and loudly sang out, "The brave Wellington for ever, who dare insult the Hero of Waterloo?" At these words a few others joined me; I pressed forward, and addressed the Duke—"Why, my Lord, does not your groom dash boldly among the rascals, and secure one of them to make an example of?" The Duke replied, "What can I do, Sir?" At this moment a stone struck the Duke on the cheek; he shook his head, applied a key to the door of his office, the back of Downing Street, in the park, and escaped their further fury. While the Duke was opening the door, missiles were flying about in various directions; I turned round and seized the arm of one fellow, who was about throwing a large stone at the Duke, and though an old tar upwards of sixty years, I held him taught until I was compelled by the mob to relinquish my hold, and for the first time scud before the enemy to avoid having my upperworks severely battered.—*A Correspondent of the — Old Times*.

A letter from Brussels states that a considerable number of the Belgian volunteers have formed the plan of destroying the monument in the field of battle at Waterloo, as it only has the effect of perpetuating a sad recollection of Belgium, and for the entire of Europe, considering that the triumph of that day has had no other result than forcing Belgium under the yoke of Holland, and placing Europe in the hands of the Holy Alliance.

The following was posted at the Stock Exchange:—

"London, Nov. 8, 1830.

To the Honourable the Members of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen and Common Council for the City of London, and the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

"No thinking man can look on the signs of the present times without great anxiety. Incendiaries are abroad, and the minds of the public are ripe for mischief. The well-disposed are alarmed, and, for want of leaders, inactive.

"I call upon you to consult with your friends and colleagues, on the propriety of holding a public meeting, at which the great body of the citizens can express their loyalty, and consult upon measures for their mutual protection in the hour of need.

"Be not supine, saying, 'It is not my business; there are others more interested or more capable than I am;' or secure, saying, 'It cannot happen yet.'

"Do your duty. Unless a strong demonstration be made, the mob will rise, and then it will be too late.

"A CITIZEN AND LOYALIST."

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,  
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1830.

#### INSOLVENT.

Nov. 4.—EVANS, C.S., Grove-street, Camden-town, master-mariner.

#### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

OWEN, J., Chiswell-street, Finsbury, victualler.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BAKER, J., Briuscombe-Port and Bourne, Gloucestershire, coal-merchant.

BEST, W., Noble-street, ironmonger.

BUMFORD, E. Tredegar-square, Mile-End-road, builder.

BURGIN, W., Old-street, St. Luke's, corn-dealer.

CHRISTIAN, T. B., Leicester, salt-dealer.

DAWE, F., and T. Guppy, Axminster, Devonshire, millers.

FIELDSEND, J., and F. Crook, Oxford-street, linen-drapers.

KERR, R., and J. Little, Ipswich, tea-dealers.

LEE, J., Brighthelmstone, Sussex, victualler.

MILLER, G., Watling-street, tallow-chandler.

MONTEITH, R., Sloane-street, Chelsea, merchant.

MURTON, C., Great Newport-street, Long Acre, bookbinder.

NEWMAN, J., Upper Clapton, carpenter.

PERCIVAL, J. jun., Whitechapel, oil and colour-man.

SCRIVEN, E., Clarendon-square and Battersea, engraver.

TULLETT, T., Birmingham, hatter.

WHITE, J., Linton, Hertfordshire, miller.

WOODBINE, R., Littleport, Cambridgeshire, carpenter.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1830.

#### INSOLVENTS.

Nov. 6.—HEBERT, H., Retreat, South Lambeth, wine-merchant.

Nov. 8.—HILL, J. C., Liverpool, merchant.

—M'MINNIES, W., Sculcoates, Yorkshire, tea-dealer.



## BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, H., Norwich, laceman.  
 COOPER, R., Plas Uchia Dwygyfylchi, Carnarvonshire, dealer.  
 FERGUSON, R, Great Prescott-street, Goodman's-fields, carpenter.  
 GRANT, P., Strand, newspaper-vender.  
 PETTY, Joseph, Manchester, joiner.  
 SCOTT, John, Norwich, upholster.  
 SPENSLEY, John, South Molton-street, Hanover-square, cheesemonger.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, NOV. 8.—The demand for Wheat to-day is very brisk, but the supply very small; the prices given are 1s. to 2s. higher than on this day se'n-night. Barley is in considerable request and fully maintains last week's prices, there being but a scanty supply. The trade in Oats is very heavy, with large arrivals, and a reduction of 1s. per quarter. In Beans and Pease there is but little doing, the prices remaining steady. The arrivals of Flour good, the demand moderate, with no variation in terms.

Wheat .....	54s. to 72s.
Rye .....	30s. to 34s.
Barley .....	34s. to 36s.
fine .....	38s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	48s. to 52s.
Boilers .....	54s. to 56s.
Grey .....	38s. to 42s.
Beans, Small .....	42s. to 44s.
Tick .....	34s. to 36s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	28s. to 30s.
Poland .....	24s. to 28s.
Feed .....	20s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.
Rape Seed, per last .....	26s. to 28s.

## ARRIVALS OF THE WEEK.

ENGLISH—Wheat, 3,483 qrs.; Barley, 8,163; Malt, 6,679; Oats, 6,369; Rye, 76; Beans, 2,173; Pease, 1,530.

IRISH—Wheat, —; Oats, 25,600 qrs.

FOREIGN—Wheat, 6,650 qrs.; Barley, —; Oats, 290; Rye, —; Beans, —; Pease, —.  
 English Flour.....8,827 sacks.  
 American Do.....6,833 barrels.

## SMITHFIELD—Thursday.

This day's supply was in the whole limited, yet the trade was, throughout, very dull, with Veal at an advance of full 4d., very prime small Beef 2d. per stone; with Mutton and Pork at Monday's quotations.—Milch Cows, which were not so numerous as on this day se'n-night, were dull of sale at that day's prices—viz., a useful short-horn, with her small calf, producing from 19l. to 20l.—Prime Beef, from 3s. 2d. to 4s. 10d.; middling Beef, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d.; inferior Beef, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; prime Mutton, 3s. 4d. to 4s. 4d.; middling Mutton, 2s. 6d. to 3s.; inferior Mutton, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; Veal, 3s. 2d. to 5s.; Pork, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.—per stone of 8lbs., to sink the offal.—Suckling Calves, from 12s. to 42s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s. each.—Supply, as per Clerk's statement: Beasts, 430; Sheep and Lambs, 6,230; Calves, 165; Pigs, 160.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, old..	36s. to 40s. per cwt.
new,	46s. to 48s.
Sides, old..	37s. to 40s.
new,	46s. to 48s.
Beef, India, new...	100s. to 102s. 6d. per tr.
Mess, new ....	52s. to 60s. per barrel.
old.....	55s. to 60s. 6d.
India, old....	110s. per tierce.
Butter, Belfast.....	90s. per cwt.
Carlow .....	90s.
Cork .....	88s.
Limerick.....	90s.
Waterford...	86s. to 88s.
Scotch .....	76s. to 78s.
Dutch .....	104s.
Cheese, Cheshire, new	42s. to 60s.
old	56s. to 84s.
Gloucester, Double..	48s. to 56s.
Single..	42s. to 52s.
Edam .....	42s. to 44s.
Gouda.....	42s. to 44s.
Hams, Cumberland..	60s. to 65s.
Yorkshire ...	70s. to 84s.
Irish.....	46s. to 60s.
Lard.....	58s. to 61s.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Sat.   Mon.   Tues.   Wed.   Thur.   Fri.	
Cous. Ann. } 80½   81½   79   79½   81½   84½	

## MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 12.

The supplies this week are very small, notwithstanding the market is very dull, and Monday's prices scarcely supported.

English arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour . . . . .	2,700	
Wheat . . . . .	1,710	3,650
Barley . . . . .	3,130	
Oats . . . . .	1,600	150
		1,100

On the 18th of November will be published:  
No. 1. of

THE USEFUL FAMILY LIBRARY, which will contain the RIGHTS of MAN, complete; with highly-finished Likenesses of Paine and Lafayette. It will be got up to correspond, in every respect, with the Family Library. Small 8vo., price 5s.

"The present crisis requires every one to read so valuable a work as 'The Rights of Man.'"—*Times*.

John Brooks, 421, Oxford-street.

AN ADDRESS from the MILLIONS who have grown poor and are daily growing poorer, to the THOUSANDS who have grown rich and are daily growing richer, is just published by W. Strange, 21, Paternoster-Row, and may be had of all booksellers, price 3d.